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for the year 1977*

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A LOCAL IRON AGE COINAGE IN SILVER AND PERHAPS GOLD IN WILTSHIRE

P. H. ROBINSON

THE purpose of this paper is to examine and discuss the relationship that exists between two Ancient British quarter stater types, Mack 68 (= Evans C 15 and L 6 = Derek Allen's *British Rb*), at the present day generally ascribed to the Dobunni, and Mack 74 (= Evans L 10 = Allen's *British Qc*), classed with the Sussex-South Coast quarter stater series, and a small group of silver coins which are to be associated with the area of central and eastern Wiltshire.

In his major study of the coinage of the Dobunni, Derek Allen made the following two statements on the pattern of the late Iron Age coinage in Wiltshire:

It seems possible that a small area on the borders of Wiltshire and Berkshire in which the coins found are not exclusively Dobunnic may have formed some minor cantonal grouping distinct from the main Dobunnic area.

and, in reference to the part of the county directly to the south and south-west of this area:

There is no trace of a regular tribal coinage . . . in central Wiltshire.¹

In the first sentence he was referring directly to the silver coins which he classed as Irregular Dobunnic L and M (Mack 377 and 384a), then known only from the fairly close sites of Mildenhall in Wiltshire and Uffington Camp (now) in Oxfordshire: a coin of a variant type, *SCBI West Country Museums* 919 probably comes from Hod Hill in Dorset, a greater distance away and well within the territory of the Durotriges. These coins he felt were 'clearly of Dobunnic stock' and were derived from class A of the regular series of Dobunnic silver coins (Mack 376) but having distinct peculiarities of their own.² Commander Mack has also included them with the coins of the Dobunni in each edition of *The Coinage of Ancient Britain*.

Since these statements were written further regular Dobunnic coins in both silver and gold have come to light in Wiltshire, together with examples of the Irregular Dobunnic L and M coins, confirming that these two linked types were almost certainly struck in or very close to the county. Moreover, from two sites in central Wiltshire are now known two stylistically related silver coins of a type not known from elsewhere, although broadly in the style of the early Dobunnic silver coins. These, it may be argued, represent the previously missing 'regular tribal coinage . . . in central Wiltshire'. The coins, which are discussed in greater detail below, are Mack 374b from Bromham, described by Mack (together with its companion piece Mack 374a, which may also be from Bromham) as 'probably the earliest of the Dobunnic silver'; and *SCBI West Country Museums* 223a from either Rushall Down or the adjacent area of Widdington, described in that sylloge as 'a sub-type of the

¹ E. M. Clifford, ed., *Bagendon: A Belgic Oppidum* (1961), p. 90. ² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Dobunni'. It is in consequence now possible to re-evaluate both the regular and irregular coinages attributed to the Dobunni in Wiltshire and south Oxfordshire.

What may now be seen clearly from the evidence of the recorded find-spots is that geographically there is only a very slight overlap between the two series. The irregular coins—for convenience here classing both the Irregular Dobunnic L and M coins and the Bromham and Rushall Down/Widdington coins together under this heading—occur over a wide area of central and eastern Wiltshire, an area that includes the very fertile Pewsey Vale, the archaeologically important North Wiltshire Downs and the northern edge of the Salisbury Plain and extends at least marginally into south Oxfordshire. The regular Dobunnic coins, which are listed as an appendix at the end of this paper, in Wiltshire occur only to the north and west of this area. While the opinions of Derek Allen and Commander Mack that these irregular coins should be ascribed to the Dobunni are not to be lightly ignored, it is quite as possible from the evidence of their distribution that they were struck by a separate people but stylistically imitating the regular Dobunnic silver coins struck in and circulating in the adjacent territory of that tribe.

This question is also reflected in a recent discussion by Professor Cunliffe of the political boundaries of the Iron Age peoples whose territories extended into Wiltshire. He has stressed that, while it is possible to establish the northern boundary of the Durotriges at the Wylye Valley, 'the exact tribal affiliations of the rest of Wiltshire are more obscure'.³ He has proposed that, north of the Wylye, 'the Bristol Avon might tentatively be assumed to form the approximate boundary between the Dobunni to the west and the Atrebates to the east'.⁴ This would then place the irregular Dobunnic coins as products of a peripheral mint or mints of the Atrebates.

The reconstructions of the political boundaries of the late Iron Age peoples in Britain are largely based upon the evidence derived from the recorded findspots of Celtic coins, but which must, of course, be used with considerable caution. The known finds of silver and bronze Durotrigian coins in Wiltshire and the adjacent counties do suggest that the northern border of this tribe may have lain at about the line of the Wylye. The chronologically earlier *British B* (Chute type) staters, now universally accepted as also products of the Durotriges, extend more to the north in eastern Wiltshire and in Hampshire, suggesting that at an earlier date Durotrigian territory may possibly have stretched more to the north-east.

The regular issues of the Dobunni are, as stated above, restricted in Wiltshire to the extreme western and northern parts of the county, avoiding central and eastern Wiltshire. To the west, the Bristol Avon does mark the very approximate limit of their distribution as it is known today, although it should be noted that Dobunnic coins have now been recorded from the parishes of Heywood (Westbury Ironworks) and Keevil, both of which lie east of that river.

Whether, however, the remainder of the county may be happily seen as subject to the Atrebates is problematical. Towards the end of the pre-Roman period, it would appear from recorded coin finds that the North Wiltshire Downs (with, perhaps, also the Pewsey Vale and the northern edge of the Salisbury Plain) formed the extreme south-eastern tip of the area under the sway of the Catuvellauni, being part of the

³ *VCH Wilts.* I ii (1973), p. 438.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 437. See also C. F. C. Hawkes in *Bagendon*, p. 47.

kingdom established at the time of Cunobelin and ruled firstly by his brother (or purported brother), Epaticcus, and subsequently by Caratacus. This is sometimes described as the North Atrebatian Kingdom, presumably on the assumption that most or all of the area reduced and ruled by Epaticcus had previously come under the authority of the Atrebates. The Irregular Dobunnic coins of central and eastern Wiltshire almost certainly date prior to the time of Epaticcus and at the time when at least the adjacent areas of Berkshire and Hampshire came within the territory of the Atrebates under the rule of the dynasty of Commios. However, only two coins issued by the Atrebates either in the name of Commios or his successors have been recorded from Wiltshire,⁵ and the most recently published distribution map of Atrebatian coins, map 10 in R. P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (3rd edition, 1975), shows that they are non-existent in the adjacent areas of north-west Hampshire and south-west Berkshire. The proposal that central and eastern Wiltshire, together with these adjacent areas in Hampshire and Berkshire, came within the territory of the Atrebates, does, therefore, seem difficult to accept purely from the numismatic evidence.

Clearly from numismatic evidence alone, it is almost impossible to determine the political status of any particular area in pre-Roman times, and this is particularly so with central and eastern Wiltshire at this period. It may be noted that the name of the Roman town of *Durocornovium* at Wanborough, towards the northern edge of the North Wiltshire Downs, conceals the tribal name of the Cornovii, suggesting that a minor tribe or a sub-group of one bearing this name had lived in this district before the Roman Conquest. Whether, however, the peoples of central and eastern Wiltshire responsible for striking the Irregular Dobunnic silver coins were politically totally independent, or formed a client tribe (or tribes) politically dependent upon either the Dobunni or the Atrebates, or perhaps formed a more closely linked sub-group of either of these two states, is as yet impossible to determine satisfactorily and quite likely to remain so. Such speculation as this must remain beyond the scope of this paper, which is restricted merely to examining a coin series in silver and possibly also gold, relating to central and eastern Wiltshire, without attempting to assess the possible political affiliations of the issuers.⁶

At this point we may consider the gold and silver coins which appear to relate to this area.

⁵ i.e. the stater of Commios from Aldbourne (*Origins*, p. 208) and that of Tincommius from 'near Swindon' (*Origins*, p. 210). The only evidence that the Mack 97 stater of Tincommius in the Ashmolean Museum from the A. D. Passmore collection, comes from Wiltshire is the fact that Passmore retained the coin at the time when he sold the remainder of his collection. But nowhere in his surviving notes or published articles does he mention the coin, and thus there are no satisfactory grounds for considering it a Wiltshire find. Whether the *British Quarter Staters* from Avebury, near Melksham and Baydon in central and eastern Wiltshire, can be described as products of the Atrebates is questionable. Cf. Derek Allen's comments on this subject in *Bagendon*, p. 77.

⁶ One might, however, say that the numismatic evidence for a military or political reduction of central and eastern Wiltshire by the Catuvellaunian nominee

Epaticcus would suggest that, since it may not have caused a major confrontation between the Dobunni and Catuvellauni, then the central and eastern Wiltshire area may not then have formed part of the territory or sphere of influence of the Dobunni. This is, however, not a convincing argument. Coins of Epaticcus are known in Wiltshire from the Savernake Forest hoard and from Easton Grey (a plated example of Mack 363, unpublished and found in 1977); at least one coin of Caratacus was in the Savernake Forest hoard. A Catuvellaunian coin of Tasciovanus may have been found at Stratford sub Castle; coins of Cunobelin are recorded from Cricklade, East Kennet, Mildenhall, Axford, Salisbury, and Easton Grey (this last found in 1977, but type not noted). Save when stated above, the coins here mentioned are all listed in *VCH Wilts. I i* (1953) and in Allen's listing in *The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Re-appraisal*.

Mack 68

Twelve examples of this type are known to the writer and it is doubtful if more than one or two others exist. Five have recorded findspots, but in no instance from a hoard, although the two coins from Selsey may possibly be from one.

Over the past twenty-five years opinion of the position of this type within the general Ancient British series has varied, as the thoughts of, chiefly, the late Derek Allen have developed concerning it. In the first edition of Mack in 1953, Mack 68 had been classed with the Sussex-South Coast quarter stater series, Mack 63-75, primarily because two of the three provenanced examples then known came from Selsey in Sussex. Subsequently Allen in *The Origins of Coinage in England: A Re-Appraisal* suggested that some examples of Mack 68 might have been issued by the Dobunni. These he classed as *British Rb*. But he gave only one tentative example of this class in his list, namely the core of a once plated quarter stater from 'near Marlborough'/Mildenhall in Wiltshire. The two Mack 68 quarter staters from Selsey were still included under *British Qc* (the Sussex-South Coast quarter stater series), although on page 199 this ascription was qualified with the suggestion that 'Mack 68 might be Dobunnic'. In his detailed study of the coins of the Dobunni, Allen proposed that 'some of the coins of this type, especially those struck in red gold' were Dobunnic, citing as evidence the close resemblance of the reverse to Mack 394, the quarter stater inscribed on the obverse COR and equated with the CORIO of the regular Dobunnic gold stater series.⁷ In his report on the Mack 68 quarter stater found some time later at Worcester, Derek Allen argued that as the two coins of the same type from Selsey were of the same red gold and distinctive fabric as the regular Dobunnic staters, and as one example of the type was known from Mildenhall, Wiltshire, 'marginally a Dobunnic site', with another now from Worcester, 'a good Dobunnic site', the type, Mack 68 could now be described as a Dobunnic issue.⁸ Although he does not say so explicitly, he did apparently include the quarter staters in plain yellow gold in this. Commander Mack in the final edition of *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (1975) appears to have appreciated the problem here. He grouped Mack 68 with the coinage of the Dobunni, but qualified it with the statement 'It is probable that the quarter staters of this type in red gold are Dobunnic' (pp. 127 and 133). The inference is that he would still classify those examples in plain yellow gold under *British Qc*, although Mack 68 has been omitted from the section covering this type.

In *SCBI 17 Midlands Museums*, the Mack 68 quarter stater from Worcester was classed with the Dobunnic coins, as was the unprovenanced coin of the same type in *SCBI The Mack Collection*. Most recently the quarter stater from Easton Royal, no. 33 in *SCBI 24 West Country Museums*, was classed as *British R* but not included with the Dobunnic series. This may have been merely a matter of convenience, for there is certainly no doubt that the stater of type Mack 374, *British Ra* in Derek Allen's classification, is a Dobunnic coin. The Easton Royal coin is in plain yellow gold (as, incidentally, is the coin from Worcester) and it is possible that Derek Allen had felt that only the quarter staters in red gold should go with the Dobunnic series of coins.

Although the type as published by Mack is from an example in the British

⁷ *Bagendon*, pp. 104 and 78 n.

⁸ *BNJ* xxxvi (1968), p. 9.

Museum from a worn obverse die, it could be described as existing in three basic states—

- from a normal obverse die not excessively worn
- from an obverse die well or extremely worn
- apparently uniface coins.

The groups probably merge into each other and clearly the dividing lines, particularly that between the first two, are subjective. It is, of course, this the convex side of the coin that suffers the more wear in circulation. The criterion that has been used below in the catalogue of known examples of the type is whether the central spike on the trifid base of the triangular elements above the wreath, which represent curls of the hair of the Apollo-head, is still visible. On specimens from worn obverse dies, the bases appear flat.

A. OBERSE DIE NOT EXCESSIVELY WORN

1. Bronze core of a presumably once plated coin in the British Museum (BMC 731), ex Sir Arthur Evans, ex Sir John Evans, ex the Revd. Charles Soames (rector of Mildenhall, near Marlborough) collections, and probably from lot 339 in the sale of Soames' collection at Sothebys on 20 July 1903. Wt. 0.99 gms.; diam. 12–13 mm.

The coin is not mentioned in any of Soames' published articles nor among his surviving historical notes. It is ticketed as having been 'found near Marlborough', which possibly means that it comes from the parish of Mildenhall, either from Black Field, the site of the Roman town of *Cunetio*, or from the Iron Age hill fort above it at Folly Farm (now known as Forest Hill). The coin is illustrated in *Bagendon* as pl. xxxvii no. 2, but from a plaster cast that does not show the detail of the obverse, which is struck from a relatively fresh die. Derek Allen suggested that the coin has a reverse die link with no. 3 below but I am not absolutely certain that this is so.

2. Example in red (i.e. copper-debased) gold in the British Museum (BMC 727), ex E. H. Willett (1878), found at Selsey, Sussex. Wt. 0.69 gms.; diam. 11 mm.

B. OBERSE DIE WELL OR EXTREMELY WORN

3. Coin in perhaps plain gold in the British Museum (BMC 726), ex E. H. Willett (1878), found at Selsey, Sussex. Wt. 0.86 gms.; diam. 12 mm.

The coin almost qualifies for inclusion in the group above, for a good amount of detail is visible on the obverse and allowance should be made for its immersion in salt water. Nevertheless some wear to the obverse die seems to be visible.

4. Coin in ordinary yellow gold in Devizes Museum (accession number 66.1970), found in 1970 at Easton Royal in Wiltshire at n.g.r. SU 20886093. *SCBI 24 West Country Museums* no. 43. Wt. 1.17 gms.; diam. 11 × 12 mm. From the same reverse die as no. 8 below.

5. Coin in ordinary yellow gold in Worcester Museum, found at Worcester. Published *BNJ* xxxvii (1968), p. 9 and *SCBI Midlands Museums* no. 37. Wt. 1.243 gms.; diam. 15 mm.

6. Findspot not recorded. *SCBI 20 The R. P. Mack Collection* no. 248, in plain yellow gold. Wt. 1.08 gms. Same reverse die as the following coin.

7. Findspot not recorded. König collection, ex Carlyon Britton collection. Wt. 1.25 gms. Same reverse die as the previous coin.

8. Findspot not recorded. Coin in plain yellow gold in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; Coats Collection no. 19. Wt. 1.28 gms. From the same reverse die as no. 4 above.

9. Findspot not recorded. Coin in yellow gold in the British Museum (BMC 729), ex Seltman (1914). Wt. 1.15 gms.; diam. 14–14.5 mm. From the same reverse die as no. 11 below.

10. Findspot not recorded. Coin in yellow gold in the British Museum (BMC 728), ex Montagu (1895 sale, lot 16). Wt. 1.18 gms.; diam. 13–15 mm. Illustrated in Mack, pl. V no. 68.

11. Findspot not recorded. König collection. Weight, size and surface colour not known to the writer. From the same reverse die as no. 9 above.

C. APPARENTLY UNIFACE COINS

12. Findspot not recorded. Coin in red gold in the British Museum (BMC 730), ex Sir Arthur Evans, ex Sir John Evans collections. Published as plate B no. 15 in John Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864). Wt. 1.18 gms.; diam. 15 mm. There are minor variations to the reverse design—the form of the sun and the position of the motifs beneath the horse's stomach.

Nine different reverse dies are therefore known. The reverse die employed for Mack 394 may perhaps be considered as providing the tenth. The number of dies employed for striking the obverses may not be determined.

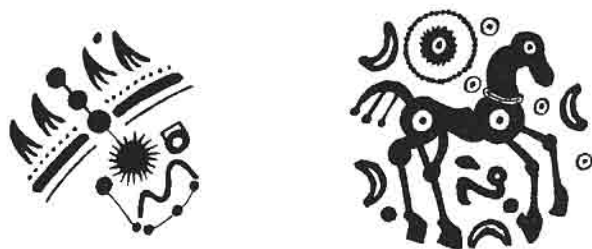


FIG. 1. Reconstruction of the type of Mack 68

The obverse design of Mack 68 depicts an Apollo head almost completely reduced to an abstract, practically symmetrical geometrical pattern. The hair above the laurel wreath is shown by two pairs of 'triangular' motifs with trifid bases. On the dies employed for nos. 1 and 3 above, these motifs are strongly curved; on those used for nos. 4, 6, and 8, the curvature is much less. The two pairs of motifs are separated by a line that runs diagonally across the coin, upon which are set four large pellets in a spaced sequence. The most distinctive characteristic of the design is that the fourth pellet is much larger than the others and has a series of short lines radiating outwards from it. This feature is described below as a 'radiate boss'. The wreath of the Apollo head is shown by two sets of three parallel lines which are separated by the diagonal line. The upper one of these is formed of thin dots; the central line is thick and solid; the lowest line is plain and more narrow. Below the wreath and to one side of the radiate boss appears a motif which may be described as an annulet with a square cap. It is presumably derived from one of the curls upon the forehead of Apollo. The remainder of the design is not clear and may only be seen upon *SCBI The R. P. Mack Collection* no. 248, which is from a worn obverse die.

On the different reverse dies for the type there are several minor points of difference, principally in the use of filling-ornaments of pellets or dot-in-circle motifs. The design is a triple-tailed horse to the right with a dot-in-circle motif on the shoulder, a line above it across the neck and another behind it across the horse's back. A second dot in circle is on the horse's rump. Above the horse appears a sun motif within a beaded circle. On the reverse of no. 12 above, this is simplified to a small cross within a beaded circle. Between the horse's legs appear a short bar and a motif best described as a small circle attached to the right-hand end of an ~ figure. On the reverse of no. 12 above, the circle is detached from the figure. Hollow crescent-like motifs, where the ends of the pairs of lines do not always meet, appear between the

hooves of the horse, at 8 o'clock and 4 o'clock respectively beneath the triple tail and the horse's head. They probably appeared also directly in front of the head and above the tail but on no surviving coin is the design sufficiently clear for certainty on this point.

Derek Allen suggested that the prototype of Mack 68 was a coin not in Evans or Mack, but known from a coin in the collection of the Prince du Ligne (Sotheby 26 June 1968, lot 61), now in Mr. H. Mossop's collection. A further example was found at Cambridge (*SCBI Fitzwilliam Museum* I no. 52 supplemented by Allen, *Origins* p. 202), while a further unprovenanced example has more recently been acquired by the Ashmolean Museum. The obverse of this coin, classified by Allen with the *British Qc* series, is totally unlike that of Mack 68 and is clearly to be associated with that group of quarter staters, where the Apollo head has begun to disintegrate but is yet far from being an almost symmetrical geometric composition. On the reverse appears a naturalistic horse with a long mane and a triple tail and with a cornucopia or frond-like motif, probably derived from the arm of the charioteer, above the animal's back. Beneath the horse's body is a prominent \sim motif with an annulet beneath it. Unlike Mack 68 there is a dot-in-circle motif linked by a bar to the horse's chest.

While the peripheral ring of spaced crescents around the reverse of Mack 68 is not to be seen on the above type, it is found on Mack 71 and on Mack 70. On the former, the crescents are of a simple linear form, while on Mack 70 they are hollow as with Mack 68. Clearly these two types must also be considered as partial prototypes of Mack 68. Mack 71 is certainly a Sussex-South Coast coin; Mack 70 may well be but the number of recorded findspots is insufficient for any certainty of this.

Commander Mack described the \sim figure on Mack 68 as 'a bird-like object with head turned back' and clearly related it to the bird-like motif beneath the horse on the patterned obverse Mack 69 quarter stater. The star in circle motifs on the obverse of Mack 69 would also seem to echo the radiate boss of Mack 68 (or perhaps more likely the twin radiate bosses on its companion coin, Mack 74, discussed immediately below). The present writer would, however, prefer to see the influence the other way round, with Mack 69 having adopted some elements from Mack 68.

Before considering the possible place or places from where Mack 68 was issued, the related type, Mack 74, should be considered.

Mack 74

The obverse design of Mack 68 is so close to that of Mack 74 (= Evans L 10 = *British Qc*), shown upside down in Mack but correctly in *The Origins of Coinage in Britain; A Re-appraisal*, that the two types must be considered as issued together.

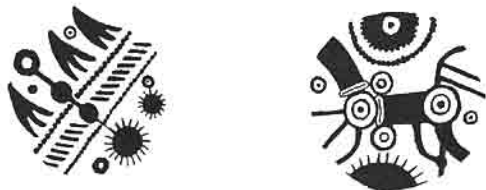


FIG. 2. Reconstruction of the type of Mack 74

On the obverse, the minor points of difference are the substitution of an annulet for a pellet as the first ornament on the transverse line; the wreath is in a different form, running through this line without a break. To the left of the large radiate boss is a small dot-in-circle motif; to the right of it is another slightly smaller radiate boss with a further dot-in-circle motif. This part of the design of the Apollo head below the wreath is reminiscent of the pattern within the wreath of the patterned obverse, Mack 69 quarter stater, which may be a chronologically later 'tidied-up' adaptation of the design. The remainder of the obverse design cannot be seen upon either of the two examples of the coin known at present.

The reverse is also struck from a die considerably larger than the flan employed and consequently cannot be reconstructed in full. It shows a triple-tailed horse facing left with ring-and-dot ornaments on both its shoulders and hindquarters. There are dot-in-circle filling ornaments above the back, beneath the animal's stomach and in front of the neck. A large sun ornament within a circle appears at the top of the flan while at the bottom, between the hooves of the horse is a second very large radiate boss, representing either a second sun symbol or a chariot wheel. The bar extending from the chest of the horse but with its far terminal off the flan can be paralleled with the bar terminating in a dot-in-circle motif appearing on most of the Apollo head *British Qc* quarter staters (Mack 63-66 and 71, but not 70) and upon some of the patterned obverse *British Qc* (Mack 67 and 73, but not 70). It is not found upon Mack 68. While it bears a superficial resemblance to a bridle-ring—compare, for example, Mack 194—it is perhaps to be interpreted merely as the terminal of the chariot pole.

Two examples of Mack 74 are known, both provenanced:

- i. BM, ex E. H. Willett (1878). Found at Selsey, Sussex. Wt. 0.78 gms.
- ii. H. R. Mossop collection. Found on the beach at East Wittering, near Selsey, Sussex. Wt. 0.71 gms.

The coins are from different dies and, to judge from the distinctive red surface appearance of each, are in base gold with the principal alloy being copper.

As the Mack 68 and Mack 74 quarter staters have a wider distribution than the silver coins discussed below, which are restricted to central Wiltshire and nearby, it is better to consider separately at this point the possible place or places where they may have been struck.

Three arguments have been employed for assigning Mack 68 to the Dobunni. One example has been found at Worcester, well within Dobunnic territory. It is not, however, in red gold and so strictly speaking cannot be described as of the same fabric as the regular Dobunnic gold coins. In contrast to this single provenanced coin, there are four provenanced Mack 68 quarter staters from outside the area in which the regular Dobunnic coins circulated; and in addition the two provenanced examples of the related type, Mack 74, are both known from Sussex, well away from Dobunnic territory. (It should be said at this point that while Marlborough/Mildenhall has been described as 'marginally a Dobunnic site',⁹ as no regular Dobunnic coins have been found either there or in the immediate vicinity, as argued above, this description is questionable.) Secondly it is said that examples of the Mack 68 quarter stater exist of the same fabric as Dobunnic gold coins. While some indeed do, it should be

⁹ *BNJ* xxxvi (1968), p. 9.

remembered that the alloying of gold with copper was by no means a practice restricted to the Dobunni but is found for example, with the staters of Addedomarus. There is no reason not to consider it a widespread practice. A further argument that the types may be Dobunnic is that the design of Mack 68 was employed on Mack 394, which there is every reason to accept as a regular Dobunnic coin of CORIO. The coins of CORIO and BODVOC are, however, the latest coins of the Dobunni¹⁰ and should, therefore, date long after the time when one should prefer to see the Mack 68 and 74 quarter staters struck, i.e. closer in time to the general *British Qc* quarter stater series. Thus the possible disparity in dating between Mack 68 and 74 on the one hand, and Mack 394 on the other weakens the argument for ascribing the type to the Dobunni. A final and more compelling argument that the types are not Dobunnic is that regular Dobunnic coins in either gold or silver are not yet recorded from Sussex, making it highly unlikely that these rare types, which are well represented in that area, can be so ascribed.

It would seem more likely, to judge from the recorded findspots of the types, Mack 68 and 74, although they are still relatively few in number, that the type should be associated with the area of central southern England rather than with the Dobunni. The pattern of their distribution, however, as it appears at present would suggest that Mack 68, and presumably Mack 74 also were not struck in the Sussex area. Had it been so, the coins would almost certainly have had a more general distribution throughout southern England. Localizing the place of striking in the area of north Hampshire, south Oxfordshire, west Berkshire, and central eastern Wiltshire would to some extent fit this distribution pattern. It would help to explain what is, in effect a high proportion of findspots of the type, Mack 68, in eastern Wiltshire and it would mean that when the type was adopted by the Dobunni for the issuing of Mack 394, they were imitating or adopting a type employed by an immediate neighbour rather than by a more distant one. Further evidence to support the hypothesis that Mack 68 and 74 were struck away from the Sussex area and perhaps in the region of Silchester-Mildenhall may be seen in some minor points of similarity between these coins and the Irregular Dobunnic L and M coins, which can now be ascribed with some certainty to a mint in or near central and eastern Wiltshire.

Mack 377 and 384a (Irregular Dobunnic, classes L and M)

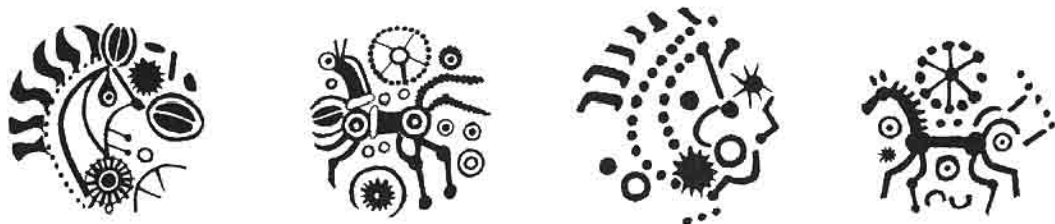


FIG. 3. Reconstruction of the types of Mack 377 and 384a

Reconstructed drawings of these two types were given as figure 25 in *Bagendon*, but these may now be corrected and extended with the aid of other examples. The points of similarity between these and the Mack 68 and 74 quarter staters are firstly

¹⁰ *Bagendon*, p. 87.

that between the legs of the horse of Mack 384a appears an annulet or, upon some examples, a dot in circle and beneath it a motif in the form of \sim . These may be seen as a counterpart of the \sim motif that appears on Mack 68. Secondly, upon the obverses of both Mack 377 and 384a there are prominent radiate bosses forming parts of the schematized head, presumably representing Apollo. These are clearly counterparts of the radiate bosses on the obverses of Mack 68 and 74. It is plausible to see in the design of Mack 377 and 384a a remodelling of the head of Apollo based upon the obverse type of Mack 68 when in a worn state, and with the reverses to be seen as very loosely imitating that of Mack 68 also.

The recorded findspots of the coins of these two types are unfortunately few in number. Five are now known from central and eastern Wiltshire, from the sites of Easton Grey and Mildenhall, and one from Uffington Camp in Oxfordshire. A related type is recorded from Hod Hill in Dorset while one type M coin lacks a known findspot. In view of the concentration of recorded examples from mid Wiltshire, it is reasonable to suppose that the types were struck there. The two surviving type L coins are from different obverse and reverse dies: the five known type M coins are from at least four different obverse and three different reverse dies. The series may then have originally been far larger than the number of surviving examples might initially suggest. The known examples are as follows:

IRREGULAR DOBUNNIC L (MACK 377)

1. BM, ex Evans, ex Revd. Charles Soames collection. Found probably at Mildenhall, Wiltshire (*BNJ* xlv (1975), p. 7 n. 2). Illustrated Evans, p. 467; Mack as no. 377; *Bagendon* pl. xxxvii, 16. Wt. 16.97 grains.
2. H. R. Mossop collection. Found in 1977 at Easton Grey, Wiltshire. Wt. 14 grains (slightly chipped).

IRREGULAR DOBUNNIC M (MACK 384a)

1. BM, ex Evans, ex Revd. Charles Soames. Found with the following coin and no. 1 above, probably at Mildenhall. Illustrated Evans, p. 468; *Bagendon* pl. xxxvii, 17. Wt. 14.5 grains.
2. BM, ex Evans, ex Revd. Charles Soames. Found at Mildenhall (see previous coin). Wt. 16.5 grains.
3. W. S. How collection. Found at Uffington Camp, Oxfordshire. Illustrated *Bagendon* pl. xxxix, 12. Wt. 16.7 grains.
4. Formerly in the R. P. Mack collection, ex Spink (1951). No recorded findspot. Illustrated in Mack as no. 384a; *SCBI The R. P. Mack Collection*, no. 256; *The R. P. Mack Collection I* (Glendining 18 November 1975) lot 50; *Origins* pl. 12. Wt. 10.4 grains.
5. H. R. Mossop collection. Found in 1977 at Easton Grey, Wiltshire. Same reverse die as no. 4 above. Wt. 16.8 grains.

RELATED OR VARIANT TYPE

1. Salisbury Museum, ex Pitt Rivers Museum at Farnham, probably ex Durden collection and found at Hod Hill, Dorset. Illustrated *Hod Hill II* pl. 15, no. 26; *SCBI West Country Museums*, no. 919. Wt. 11.1 grains. This coin with no. 4 above may represent a half denomination to the other coins of this series.¹¹

Derek Allen suggested that the designs upon these coins were derived from that of the regular Dobunnic class A coins. The similarity between them is shown by the radiate boss that appears on the chin of the Apollo head on these coins. This feature is absent on the reconstructed drawing of the type in *Bagendon* fig. 24, which is perhaps based upon worn coins, but it may be seen clearly on the class A coins, *SCBI West Country Museums* nos. 188–90. On later silver coins of this series, a plain boss is substituted for a radiate boss. But apart from this detail, the types are quite

¹¹ Derek Allen, in Sir Ian Richmond, *Hod Hill ii* (1968), p. 50 sub no. 26.

alien to each other. While it is difficult to determine with satisfaction which one is the prototype and which the copy, it is perhaps more likely that class A was copied from the Irregular L and M coins. This would explain how a radiate boss appears on the type A coins, where a tolerably realistic head of Apollo occurs but on which this feature is an incongruous part of the design. In contrast, the radiate boss is quite at home on the exotic obverse designs of the coins of classes L and M.

SCBI 24: West Country Museums no. 233a; Mack 374a and b and possibly related coins



FIG. 4. *SCBI West Country Museums 233a. × 3*

SCBI West Country Museums no. 233a is a coin of plated silver struck on a dumpy flan in the collection of Devizes Museum. It has a ticket in the hand of Joshua W. Brooke, the Marlborough antiquary, reading 'Widdington'. This is the name of a farm in the parish of Upavon on the northern edge of the Salisbury Plain. In one of Brooke's notebooks preserved in the library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes appears on p. 41 a reference to an Ancient British coin from the collection of Mr. Arthur Stratton of Lockeridge, which was presented to Brooke in 1909. In the previous sentence there is a reference to a collection of 200 Roman coins, ranging in date from Claudius to Honorius in Mr. Stratton's collection which had been found 'near Widdington'. On the following page it is expressly stated that these coins came from Rushall, and the site in question may be identified as the settlement site on Rushall Down, occupied in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods. Rushall is the adjacent parish to Upavon and the Rushall Down settlement site lies only a very short distance away from Widdington. The presumption is that the Ancient British coin came also from Rushall Down, but that Brooke retained with the coin a ticket reading 'Widdington' suggests that this may possibly be incorrect and it may be a stray find from the adjacent area of Widdington Farm, Upavon. No other Iron Age coins are recorded from Rushall Down. The site was excavated between 1897 and 1899 but the results not properly published. The coins, together with the other finds then made were presented to the British Museum and cannot now be identified. They are said to have been only of late Roman date. Other surface finds, including coins made at various other times on the site are in Devizes Museum¹² and in private collections, but to the writer's knowledge they include no further Ancient British coins.

The coin is a new type and prior to its inclusion in *SCBI West Country Museums* had not been mentioned in print. The obverse shows an Apollo head facing right, the hair formed chiefly by a series of crescents as on the regular Dobunnian coins of

¹² Most were presented by Mr. Arthur Stratton.

classes A-C. On the Rushall Down coin three crescents may be seen; they are plain in shape and solid. The remainder of the design of the hair is largely off the flan. The eye is a small annulet while the nose is formed by an oblique line running from the top of the head, terminating in a pellet and then returning in the direction of the eye before finishing. The chin is formed of a large boss. Two small parallel lines running upwards from the boss towards the eye may possibly represent the mouth, turned 90 degrees at the whim of the die engraver. On the irregular Dobunnic type L coins, the mouth is also shown by two short parallel lines and if those on the Rushall Down coin do represent a mouth, this may be seen as a possible link between the two coins.

The reverse is from a die much larger than the flan employed. It is far from clear and difficult to interpret. It may be a representation of a horse but an alternative interpretation of what is visible as a geometric design, based upon a cross with various elements such as annulets, pellets, a crescent, and various lines filling the angles is also possible.

In *SCBI West Country Museums* it was suggested that the coin 'belonged to the Dobunnic area' and that it 'could be a special Wiltshire sub-type of the Dobunni since one of two similar specimens in the Mack collection [*SCBI The R. P. Mack Collection* nos. 248a and 248b = Mack 374a and 374b] was found near [*SCBI Mack* says 'at'] Bromham, Wiltshire'. In a personal letter to the writer, Derek Allen said that he felt that both coins may very well have been found together as they appeared on the market in London at the same time, in 1971.

Commander Mack ascribed the two coins to the Dobunni and suggested that they were probably the earliest Dobunnic silver coins, with an 'easily recognisable face', struck before the design of the regular Dobunnic coins became formalized.¹³ The two coins do not, however, relate directly to the Dobunnic series either with their obverse or reverse designs, although the jewelled borders of the hair-crescents of the obverse of Mack 374b are clearly reminiscent of those on the regular Dobunnic class A coins. The obverse of Mack 374a is very close to that of the Rushall Down coin and the three coins may be regarded as forming a small independent group, almost certainly to be associated with the central Wiltshire area, even though, admittedly, there are as yet only two recorded findspots for the series. As they occur in the same general area as that in which the Irregular Dobunnic group L and M coins occur, it is possible that they were struck by the same authority, but at a different, later date. But that they were found slightly to the south of the area in which those coins have been recorded, leaves open the possibility that they may have been struck at a different location and by a different authority.

The type Mack 375 was originally considered a Dobunnic coin. Derek Allen argued against this ascription and related it to coins from Southern England.¹⁴ In the third edition of *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* and in *SCBI Norweb* no. 35, Commander Mack proposed that the type should be ascribed to the East Midlands, but more recently placed his own example of the coin, *SCBI The R. P. Mack Collection* no. 82 under the heading 'miscellaneous'. At the time of writing there are no recorded findspots for the type.

¹³ R. P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (1975), p. 133 sub 374a and 374b.

¹⁴ Bagendon, p. 79 n. 1; *Origins*, p. 135.

A variant of Mack 375, weighing 17.3 grains and thus slightly lighter in weight than the other examples of the type, is in the collection of Mr. H. R. Mossop. It is, again, unprovenanced and is illustrated directly below. Apart from the inferior style, the

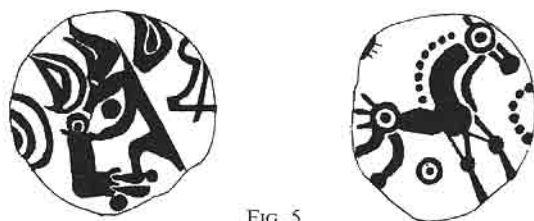


FIG. 5

chief point of difference is that this coin clearly has a horse with a triple tail on the reverse, while the Mack 375 coins show a horse with a double tail only. On its own the triple tail to the horse suggests strongly that this is a coin from south-west England. The form of the head on the obverse and the entire reverse are close to those of the Bromham-Rushall Down series and it is likely that this coin is a further member of the group. The true Mack 375 coins may perhaps also in consequence be assigned to the same group; the double tail to the horse is paralleled on Mack 374a and 374b as well as upon the Irregular Dobunnic L and M coins, but is not found upon the coins with which it was compared by Derek Allen in his study of the Dobunnic coinage. It is also possible that Mack 375 may represent a prototype of both Mr. Mossop's coin and the other coins of the small Bromham-Rushall Down series but that it was struck in a different, perhaps adjacent area. Clearly one must wait for provenanced coins to appear.

Mack 396a and Mack -, a new type from Easton Grey, Wilts.

A further coin that should be considered in conjunction with the above coins is Mack 396a, a curious, double-struck coin now in the Ashmolean Museum. It came from the collection of A. D. Passmore and is said to have been found near Wanborough, Wiltshire before 1937. Five or more coins 'of the Nunney type' i.e. regular Dobunnic silver coins, are said to have been found with it, and a photograph of one of these is in the British Museum. Derek Allen has, however, cast doubts on the association of Mack 396a with the other Dobunnic coins.¹⁵ While Commander Mack has classified it under the heading of 'Other coins of the Dobunni', Derek Allen has described it as 'probably not Dobunnic' and he has suggested that it 'may have been a local product of the Swindon-Marlborough area'.¹⁶

In style it relates neither with the regular Dobunnic series of silver coins nor with those discussed immediately above. While it remains unique one must be cautious in necessarily accepting it as a coin struck in the general area where it was found. As, however, there seems likely to have been in that area at least one authority striking coins in silver, it may very well be that Mack 396a represents a coinage struck by the same authority in a totally different style.

A further silver coin, weighing 11.5 grains was found in 1977 in Easton Grey and

¹⁵ *Bagendon*, p. 130. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

is now in the collection of Mr. H. R. Mossop. It is of a previously unknown type and, like Mack 396a, may perhaps have been struck locally. It is, unfortunately, very worn and in consequence the design, which is reproduced below, is far from clear, particularly upon the obverse.

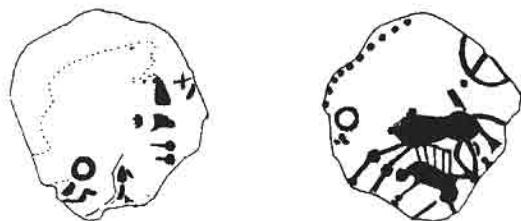


FIG. 6

The obverse may possibly show a head facing right, with the mouth and lips formed by two small parallel lines as with the Irregular Dobunnic L coins. On the reverse appears a horse facing left, with perhaps a double tail; above the animal's rump appears a wheel and between its legs a small boar, also facing left. The coin may be a variant of Mack 87, known only to date from Richborough. But its style is closer to that of Mack 374a and Mack 374b than to this coin. Stylistically it is not similar to the probably Gaulish coin, Mack 87a (*SCBI The R. P. Mack Collection* no. 83), which also shows a boar beneath the horse on the reverse. Again one must wait for the discovery of further examples of the type or for a more positive indication that the type is related to the coins attributable to the Wiltshire area before accepting this coin conclusively as also a Wiltshire issue.

In conclusion there are satisfactory grounds for seeing the Irregular Dobunnic L and M coins and the small group of coins from Bromham and Rushall Down as struck either in central and eastern Wiltshire or very close to that county. The known pre-Roman mint at Silchester is probably too far away to be considered a likely place of their issue. While these coins share stylistic detail with the coins of the Dobunni, they occur in an area where regular Dobunnic are in general not found. The only location where both the regular and the Irregular Dobunnic coins occur is at Easton Grey on the Bristol Avon, a river which Cunliffe sees as the possible boundary of the tribe of the Dobunni. It is, however, impossible to say merely from numismatic evidence whether or not the issuers were an independent tribe or if they were either dependent upon or indeed a part of either the Dobunni or the Atrebates. The coins borrow some detail from Mack 68 and 74 and it is possible but not certain that these quarter stater types which are related may have been issued either in the same area or perhaps nearby, as at Silchester. The recent discovery of a second findspot for the base gold stater, Mack 62 in Wiltshire at Mildenhall,¹⁷ the other recorded findspots being Savernake Forest, Wiltshire and Marks Tey in Essex, is a tantalizing suggestion that there may be a full stater series attributable to this same area. It also shows the need for further recorded finds of Celtic coins both from Wiltshire but particularly from the adjacent areas of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and Hampshire.

¹⁷ Now acquired by Devizes Museum.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Mr. H. R. Mossop for giving me permission to mention here coins in his collection and for his encouragement to me in writing this paper; and, in addition to Professor Michael Dolley for reading the text, to Professor S. S. Frere for allowing me to use the card index of Ancient British coins maintained at the Institute of Archaeology at Oxford, and to the Keeper and staff at the British Museum for the use of the facilities there and for other help.

APPENDIX

LIST OF RECORDED REGULAR DOBUNNIC COINS FROM WILTSHIRE

1. Yatton Keynell, Butts Close (ST 865765) in 1907. AU stater of CORIO (Mack 393). *Origins*, p. 255 and the sources cited there.
2. Upton Lovell (ST 9440) in 1957. AU stater of ANTED RIG (Mack 386). *Origins*, p. 252.
3. Perhaps from the Swindon area, prior to 1963. Plated AU stater of INAM (Mack 390) in Mr. H. R. Mossop's collection, which came to light in a Swindon shop. Sir Ian Richmond, *Hod Hill* ii (1968), p. 45 n. 1.
4. Perhaps from the Swindon area, prior to 1929. AU stater of CORIO (Mack 393). *Origins*, p. 255.
5. Stourton, Alfred's Tower (ST 7734) in c. 1857. AU stater of CORIO (Mack 393). *Origins*, p. 255 and the sources cited there.
- 6, 7. Chiseldon in c. 1971. Two AU staters of COMUX (Mack 392), one of them now in Mr. H. R. Mossop's collection. Not published.
8. Calne Without, Clarke's Hill (ST 975691) in 1957. Plated AR coin of EISU (Mack 389 = Allen, class H) in Devizes Museum. *Origins*, p. 253 and *SCBI West Country Museums* no. 221.
9. Nettleton, adjacent to the Roman Mausoleum in 1959. Uninscribed AR coin (Mack 380-1 = Allen, class E). *Bagendon*, p. 129.
10. Nettleton, Wick Wood in 1968. Uninscribed AR coin (Mack 378 = Allen, class B). *SCBI West Country Museums* no. 193.
11. Heywood parish, Westbury Ironworks (ST 863523) in 1880-1. Uninscribed AR coin (Mack 382 = Allen, class F) in Devizes Museum. *SCBI West Country Museums* no. 209a.
- 12, 13. Easton Grey in c. 1930. AR coin of BODVOC (Mack 396). *Origins*, p. 256. In 1977, uninscribed AR coin (Mack -, = Allen *obv.* class D, *rev.* class E), in Devizes Museum. Unpublished.
14. Keevil, The Henleys (ST 912579), before 1914. Uninscribed AR coin (Mack -, = Allen class C) in the British Museum under 'Trowbridge', donor, W. Ghey. For the findspot see Revd. A. T. Richardson, *Annals of Keevil and Bulkington*, p. 4. This corrects the entries, *Origins*, pp. 249 and 285; *Bagendon*, p. 129 and *VCH Wilts.* I i, pp. 79 and 115.
- 15-21. Colerne, Northwood Barn (ST 81257326), from c. 1950 onwards. Scattered hoard (?) of perhaps seven coins:
 - 1 Mack 378 = Allen class B in Devizes Museum. *SCBI West Country Museums* no. 196.
 - 2 Mack 378 = Allen class B in Bristol Museum.
 - 3 Mack 378 = Allen class B. Present location unknown. Photograph at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.
 - 4 Mack 382 = Allen class F in Devizes Museum. *SCBI West Country Museums* no. 209.
 - 5 Mack 387 = Allen class G in Devizes Museum. *SCBI West Country Museums* no. 216.
 - 6 Mack 389 = Allen class H in Devizes Museum. *SCBI West Country Museums* no. 222.
 - 7 Type not recorded. See *W.A.M.* 63 (1968), p. 102, where the other coin mentioned may be no. 3 above.
22. Swindon, before 1929. Uninscribed AR coin (Mack 378 = Allen class B). *Origins*, p. 249. Photograph in the British Museum.

23. Wanborough area, before 1927. Uninscribed AR coin (Mack 382 = Allen class F). *Origins*, p. 249 but see *Bagendon*, p. 130 where doubts are expressed as to the correctness of the record.
24. Perhaps from the area of Cricklade. Uninscribed AR coin (Mack 382 = Allen class F) in Cricklade Museum. *SCBI West Country Museums* no. 214, but there is no proof that this coin was a local find.
25. Castle Eaton, south bank of the Thames (SU 16059642) in 1978. Bronze core of an uninscribed AR coin (Mack 382 = Allen class F). Inf. from Mr. M. Stone of Swindon Museum; casts in Devizes Museum.
26. Chiseldon, in 1971. AU stater of ANTED (Mack 386). Supplement to Allen, *Origins* (1978), p. 100. See 6 and 7 above, photographs of *both* of which are in Devizes Museum.
27. ? Latton, in or before 1973. AU stater of BODVOC. Supplement to Allen, *Origins* (1978), p. 103, but it may be that 'Latton' is incorrect and that the findspot was in Gloucs., rather than that the wrong county has been given.

These correct entries in Allen, *Origins* and in the recently published supplement to that work.

N.B. The Dobunnian AR coin, Allen class B, reported as having been found at Rushall Down and preserved in Devizes Museum (supplement to Allen, *Origins* (1978), p. 94) does not exist. The reference is to the Irregular Dobunnian coin from Widdington/Rushall Down described above in this paper.

POSTSCRIPT

It would seem possible that the three AU staters reported from Chiseldon may have formed part of a hoard. The traces of corroded silver which Mr. Mossop has advised me were to be seen upon his COMUX stater before it was cleaned would suggest that silver coins may also have been present. There is also reason to believe now that the coins were not found at Chiseldon but in south Oxfordshire.

THE PRINCIPAL SERIES OF ENGLISH SCEATTAS

S. E. RIGOLD

THIS article seeks to offer a convenient, consistent and, if necessary, expandable scheme of classification for the principal kinds of sceattas, based on the concept of series rather than of types. One need make no apology for using the long-familiar word *sceat*, pl. *sceattas*, even though it may have no contemporary authority, to cover all the silver or base-silver coins with small and relatively thick flans, struck and circulating both in England and the Low Countries in the late seventh and eighth centuries. No doubt the later ones were, as some of their Gaulish counterparts proclaim themselves to be, *denarii* or *pennies*, and the distinction between them and the broad pennies that followed lies not so much in weight or metal as in fabric and module. But at the point of origin the convenient and purely objective criterion is one of alloy—the exhaustion of gold-content which distinguishes them from debased *tremissas* or *thrymsas*—which may have been called *shillings*. There is no apparent boundary of denomination, and if the word *sceat* did not exist it would have been necessary to invent one. ‘English’ covers those which (with one exception, *de Lundonia*) appear on purely archaeological (descriptive and distributive) evidence to have been made in England, but the classification includes those found in England in considerable numbers which appear to have been produced elsewhere. It does not include *thrymsas*, however base, and it does not extend to Continental classes seldom or never found here.

Principles of Classification

A ‘type’ is a design, generally defined by a form of words, like a heraldic blazon; it is usually described as a ‘double’ type, whereas in certain issues, including some sceattas, each side may have been considered independent, to be freely combined with others of the kind without the stigma of ‘muling’. A ‘type’ may tolerate some minor variations as ephemeral ‘differences’, comparable to privy marks, but the ‘line may be drawn’ at other minor distinctions without considering whether or not they are significant. Thus, the difference between *BMC* types 27a and 27b persists, in fact over two ‘series’, but appears to be accidental and meaningless. In any case a ‘type’ is not concerned with the execution or general fabric of the coin. Over a hundred varieties of English sceattas have been described by the *BMC* typology,¹ as extended by P. V. Hill,² with all the sub-types and combinations; still more (134) in Hill’s scheme, as used by North;³ only 35, without combinations, and with many omissions, in Brooke’s.⁴ But none of these attempts a systematic, archaeological classification, apart from a few preconceptions about devolution, and all ‘miss the

¹ *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, i (1887).

and other collections’, *NC* 1953, 92–114.

² P. V. Hill, ‘Uncatalogued sceattas in the national

³ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, i (1963).

⁴ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 3rd ed. (1950).

wood for the trees'. Hereinafter all references to numbered types will be to the best-known of these numerations, that of the *BMC* with Hill's extensions.

A 'series', on the other hand, is intended to cover the serial or concomitant production of a mint, or of more than one mint, including unofficial or 'imitative' mints, sharing types but generally keeping within a limited group of types. Often there is only one type, but when there are more, any of these mints may use more than one, or more than one combination of 'single' types, simultaneously, and these types may be very different in motif. A 'series' concentrates on the normal, the relatively enduring and relatively common, and takes account of the fabric, weight and metal of the coin as well as the design, all of which must be balanced in order to define a substantive series. For this one may suggest four criteria: (i) that of internal coherence; (ii) that of distinction from any other identifiable series; (iii) that of usual distribution, which is not affected by the evidence that a distinct series may have a similar distribution (as Series A and B, below) or that two apparent mints within the same series, distinguished in 'style' but not in type, may have a distribution to some degree mutually exclusive; (iv) which is a hypothetical consideration, that the mint or mints concerned should have supplied a need over a considerable space and time, wherever the designs came from.

The second, negative, and most difficult of these criteria may be further refined. A series is distinct when: (i) its productions appear to be uninfluenced by another, even when it circulates with it (again, compare Series A and B); or (ii) when it plays variations on its original motifs, including permutations of single types, but only occasionally borrows from outside (compare Series L); or (iii) when its types have no proven connection with any other save perhaps a common 'language' (as the Bird and Branch of Series U and the bird and cornstalks of Series V, which both come from the repertoire of 'inhabited scrolls'); or (iv) when it borrows types but gives them a strong character or 'style' of its own, reinforced by distinctive weight and alloy (as between Series C and Series R—'Primary' and 'Secondary Runic'—or between Series B and Series J).

An element of hypothesis and subjective refinement of definition, of course, remains. The most imponderable lines are those between the passably orthodox, the tolerated imitation, and the downright fraudulent—a situation often found in subsidiary coinages, where regalian rights were not strictly enforced, but rarer in coinages of precious metal. Fortunately, as these lines come within the series they do not affect the hypothesis that some degree of royal control was exercised over most issues of sceattas. There is no direct attestation of this until the issues of Eadberht in Northumbria, but the procedure of this paper is to compare and contrast all series with the recognizably regular mintage not only of the broad pennies that followed but also of the earliest sceattas which (save for those of Pada and 'Vanimundus'—garbled from Varimundus, which were transitional from the thrymsas) have been called 'Primary'. Their weight and metal is good; their romanizing designs owe little or nothing to northern art. Most of their successors are 'Secondary', generally inferior in weight and alloy but much more varied and often distinctly Anglo-Saxon in motif—barbarian, perhaps, but not barbarous. There is a third category, apparently intermediate, or overlapping, in date, rivalling the Primary in weight and metal, probably originating in Frisia but definitely not all struck there. The most characteristic type is

the unintelligible 'Porcupine'. They are thoroughly barbarous in design and, presumably, in intent and the case for any royal control is generally weak, but still not negligible. A fulcrum in the history of sceattas is provided by the enormous Aston Rowant hoard, which contains 'Primary' and these 'Intermediate' issues, but no 'Secondary'.

The classification here proposed had its genesis in a paper published in 1960, 'The two primary series of sceattas', which in fact identified *three* series that can be called 'Primary' but concentrated on those there named A and B, which were clearly contemporaneous, inter-available apparently from their inception, but distinct in production and design, each consistently with a well-ordered succession of dies, of which one or two good but anomalous ones could be explained as those of a temporary engraver. The dies of A showed little variation; those of B a clear and deliberate distinction between each. Both series had a small 'appendix' ('A4' and one or two classed under 'BIIIA') of fairly obvious and perhaps foreign imitations. Otherwise the early B's fell into two phases called BI and BII, which seemed close enough in technique to form one series (preserved in this revision). Only BI was strictly contemporaneous with A; in BII the place of A was taken by a coinage similar in type but with Runic legends, and rather different in technique and distribution. For these causes this, the 'Primary Runic', was considered as a separate series and the designation C, suggested in 1960, is kept in this revision. There is no evidence for or against an overlap with A, nor a change of mint. Here, then, are the precedents for treating imitations of single inspiration and ephemeral variants as part of the archetypal series, and for the criteria, in part subjective, for the distinction of series. *Per contra*, a much larger group of coins than BII, obviously later and with different associations, but yet sharing the same formal type of B (and originally classed as BIIIB, BIIIC and, in one or two cases, BIIIA) have been placed with related types in a different series, J, thus breaking the unity of a 'type' defined in the *BMC*. Metcalf has convincingly argued that the lack of presumptive continuity, the difference in weight, metal, and technique and, above all, the wide distribution were sufficient to warrant this. They are absent from Aston Rowant and must be classed on their own qualities as 'Secondary'. They are apparented to Series B, and in that sense 'imitative', but they are a large and substantive group, quite distinct from the sort of imitation that numismatic experience tells us is often close in date to the archetype. The same considerations apply to another group, also identified in the paper of 1960, the 'Secondary Runic' (R2), here designated as Series R. They are apparented to Series C, but weak in metal and with a narrowly East Anglian distribution. Other factors, then, may override descriptive type *where the evidence is sufficient*; where it is not, type must prevail.

The intention here is (i) to accommodate all the series, as defined by these criteria and substantiated by a reasonable number of specimens, within the alphabetical scheme, of which A, B, and C are already allotted; (ii) to divide the Secondary from the Primary and Intermediate (those represented at Aston Rowant) by confining the latter to the beginning of the alphabet; (iii) to keep a general order of priority by putting precedent series before those that appear to copy them and, where possible, by putting series associated in finds or of similar metallic composition together, *but with no presumption of absolute sequence*; (iv) where convenient, to use letters of

mnemonic value, e.g. H for Hamwih, L for London, R for Runic. Although in the paper of 1960 the transitional sceattas of Pada and 'Vanimund' were designated by P and V, it is proposed to alter these to Pa and Va respectively and to reserve the letters P and V for other series.

Detailed, but not necessarily exhaustive, studies of certain series have been published, and the sub-classifications suggested will be used to subdivide those series. In others I have only sorted them as time allowed and invite other students to provide the sub-classes or replace any provisional ones. The series are far from being of equal extent or status and in the largest and most difficult of all, the Porcupines, I make use of the provisional classification by reverses ('VOIC' abbreviated to v) both in the table of series and in the list of finds, but would add that it does not cover everything. I hope that the letter-code, by proceeding from the known and normal, will be flexible enough to describe the unusual and to be adjusted in part without dismantling the whole. It has been tested on the major long-established public collections—the *ancien fonds* of the British Museum (as in *BMC*), the Fitzwilliam and the Hunterian, and it 'works' to the extent of accounting for all but 2 per cent with little misgiving.

In order to describe the anomalous or irreducible the letters can be used much as type-numbers: if the coin is apparently a 'mule', not so much between types as between ranges of types, and the fabric is uncertain, it can be provisionally classed, e.g. as K/L; if the type is that usual for K but the fabric out of place there, but *apparently* more typical of L, then it is nevertheless classed as 'K (L)'; if almost certainly a product of L with borrowed types, then it becomes L (K). As a guide for future sub-classifiers it is suggested that chronological phases be differenced by adding Roman numerals to the series-letter (on the analogy of BI, BII), and typological subdivisions by adding Arabic numerals, as suggested here for potentially divisible series such as Q. Either could become a sub-series if required. Purely stylistic divisions, even if of marked distributional significance, should have lower-case letters added to the series-letter.

Stylistic Devolution

One should try to avoid analogies with organic evolution and descriptions in terms of it. It is a hangover from Darwin's day, and a misunderstanding of the master at that! One is well aware that imitations, however devolved-looking, may be contemporaneous with the archetype, and that there may be revivals of long obsolete types, even perhaps the Iron Age *Rolltier*. Quite clearly, the 'Porcupine', whatever it is, did not evolve, or degenerate, slowly, in the orbit of English sceattas, but sprang into that orbit fully prickled.

Obverse and reverse dies

I have tried to maintain a clear distinction between obverse and reverse, and assume that functionally there always was one, even though there are substantive issues with 'double-obverse' and 'double-reverse' types. In some cases only a minute die-analysis may determine which side of a coin is really which, usually by observing the much faster wear and replacement of the reverse dies. Normally the dies are structurally different, and a true double-obverse or double-reverse mule should be difficult or impossible to produce. Apparent exceptions arise because what is an obverse type on one issue may become a reverse on another.

This shifting of general types from one side to the other provides a most useful discriminant for sorting Secondary sceattas, that may use similar types, into their series, and for recognizing imitations that may ignore which side of the archetype is which. The 'Primaries' have, *more Romano*, an obverse with a head or bust and a reverse with something else—standard, cross, bird, etc. So, with the exception of the 'double-reverse' *BMC* type 8 and regarding the Porcupine as a 'head' in relation to the standard, do the 'Intermediates'. So, too, do certain of the 'Secondaries'—those that derive their types, in part at least, from the Primaries (Series G, J, and R), and the provenly contemporaneous Series K. All these have a clear reverse, with bird, beast, standard, etc.; they do not make 'double' mules. Most of the other Secondaries, with one prominent exception, use a different range of obverses—the standing king (?), with or without his 'boat', or a pair of standing figures (which have a good Byzantine precedent in either function), other figural designs, or the 'shield'. The bird, beast, cruciform, or tribracheate designs that go with them are reverses by the same test as those of the Primaries, and must always be regarded as such in the first instance. The exceptions, almost always apparent 'double obverses' by this test, call for special explanation. Sometimes their technique betrays them as imitations. In one or two cases they are substantive, like the rare Series T (bust and porcupine) and, above all, Series L, which consistently uses a bust (occasionally that borrowed from Series K) with the standing 'king' or, rarely, the 'shield' as the reverse. The series is best known from the base, light and in some cases perhaps unofficial material from the Thames finds, but it can be traced back to better pieces with clear legends, and seems to generate derivatives of different fabric from those in the lower Thames valley (perhaps related to the tail-end of Series U, discussed below). In the proposed classification the apparent double obverse is the main criterion for Series L. It is true that Series K may have finally caught the double-obverse habit (*BMC* Type 20), but most of the 'K' elements in 'L' contexts can be explained as imitations in an 'L' source, properly then 'K (L)', or 'L (K)'. Note, however, that Series L carries the ultimately Primary bust design, adopted by Series K, right to the end.

Contrasting with these are all the relatively isolated and self-consistent series using figural obverses, including Series S ('sphinx') and V (wolf and twins—for this purpose not a 'beast' and Teutonic, but a figural image and classical). The archetype of them all is probably Series U, called 'bird and branch' from its *reverse*, but having a bust as a rare alternative to the standing 'king'. It splits into two or more distinct fabrics, but, as with Series L, one would like to know more of its beginning. These two series have the best claim to be peculiarly Mercian and to represent the coinage of Aethelbald. A small residue with the figural obverse, *BMC* types 23a, 23c, and 23e, with provenances in the upper Thames, Wiltshire, and the Cotswolds respectively, has been provisionally placed with Series U; they do not appear to be archetypal and it is to be hoped that in the future it will be possible to resolve their relation to the rest.

Most difficult of all is Series Q, normally with beast one side, bird the other, but it is not yet clear which side is which. Its provenance is mainly East Anglian and it has two distinct fabrics, one smooth and rounded, the other angular and linear. The latter may combine one side *or* the other with various busts, including that of Series R, equivocally for the obverse–reverse question. Provenances for these include York and the beast may have inspired that of Eadberht.

Explanation of the Table of Series

- i. Where there is a multiplicity of type, normally, but not necessarily, the obverse combines with the reverse set against it, or with 'one up' or 'one down', and *BMC* type is the resultant combination.
- ii. The column headed 'dominant style' does not attempt to describe the style, but merely to indicate whether it is unitary, i.e. with only one engraver normally working at a time and a presumption of a single mint (in which case the column is marked '1'), or multiple, i.e. with two or more, apparently simultaneous, engravers, perhaps with a different distribution, and a presumption of more than one mint (in which case a number is suggested in the column). Where the number is not evident in the present state of knowledge but perhaps multiple, the column is marked 'X'; where there is *probably* more than one mint it may be marked 'few', if the evidence is other than stylistic; where the mints are almost certainly numerous, it is marked 'N'.
- iii. The column headed 'Silver contents' gives only a provisional generalization, often from few analyses.
- iv. The column headed 'weight' gives an approximate modal weight, or 'peaks' in the histogram, but only when numbers are sufficient.

Chronology and Associations of Series

- I. A, B, C (and chronologically D) are 'Primary'. A and B occur in *Hougham* and the early Kentish grave-finds; A, B, and C in *Southend*; B, C, and D in *Birchington*.
- II. D, E, and F are 'Intermediate', with strong Frisian, or NE. Frankish, connections, shared to a certain degree by G. E, however, certainly includes a substantial English production. F and D *may* include English imitations. A to F inclusive occur in *Aston Rowant*, in which A and BI are by now becoming scarce.
- III. G, H, J, K, L, M, N, O, Q, and R are 'Secondary', with certain established connections and borrowings, but their relative chronology is far from being finalized. G, J, K, and possibly R, occur together, at an early stage in their series at *Garton-on-the-Wolds*; H, K (at a later stage?), N, X, and possibly D, in *Southampton*, Hoard A, with a residual E. Some of the series, especially H and R, are very long; and G, H, K, and especially L, Q, and R show a marked decline in weight and metal. Q and R occur together in *Cambridge* and are linked by muling and general distribution.
- IV. S, T, U, V, W, and Z are enigmatic, original in motif and often fine in execution. Except for the 'Bird and Branch' type of U they are all rare. The only firm association is between S and T, which occur together at Wrotham and *London*, Hoard A, which would place them with the rest of the 'Secondary' series, G to R inclusive. U and W, on the other hand, seem, on both typological and metrological grounds, to be early, and it has been argued that U is archetypal to much of the 'Secondary' series, though quite unconnected with the 'Primary'. V, the 'Wolf and Twins' (which has no progeny except perhaps in Aethelberht of East Anglia), may possibly be late. Z occurs in a fairly late context in *Cimiez*.
- V. X is certainly foreign in origin and continues relatively late; it abounds in certain Frisian hoards, but also occurs in *Southampton*, Hoard A; there seem to be English imitations of it, and, indeed, an English element in its design.

VI. Y is the only series firmly placed in time and space—Eadberht and his immediate successors, beginning not long after 738 (it is a long series) and doubtless at York. It has no obvious archetype, but variants of Series Q, and possibly imitations of Series Z, of northern provenance, may come to be classed with Y. 'Styca' types, even of silver, are excluded.

TABLE OF SERIES

(*'Thrymsas' excluded, however base their gold*)

	<i>Obverse Types</i>	<i>Reverse Types</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>BMC Type</i>	<i>Dominant Styles</i>	<i>'Silver' contents</i>	<i>Weight</i>
A	Rad. bust	Standard (A)	TIC	2a	1	95-92	ca. 19.7
B	Diad. head or bust	Bird on cross	Garb. (long)	26, 27	1	95½-92½	ca. 19.0
(BZ, Frisian)	Fac. head	Bird on cross	Garb. (long)	29		—	
C	Rad. bust	Standard (A)	Runic, 'apa', etc.	Run., 2b	2?	95-92	ca. 18.3
D (Frisian)	Rad. bust	Cross and 4 pell.	Runic	2c, 50	N	95-91	
	Standard (4 Ls)	Cross and 4 pell.	—	8	X	ca. 90	
E	Porcupine	Standard (var.)	—	4, 5	N	95-75	
	Porcupine	'æthiliræd' (runes)	—	(Merc)	1	ca. 95	
	Plumed bird	Standard (K, L)	—	6	1	ca. 95	
F	Diad. bust	Cross and annul.	Garb.	24	N	—	
G (Frank)	Diad. bust	Standard (3 Xs)	—	3a	1?	92-22	
H	Face and bosses	Bird walking	—	49	1	90-65	
	Shield	Bird walking	—	39		ca. 70	
	Shield	Whorl of 3	—	48		ca. 70	
J	Diad. head	Bird on cross	—	27 (late)	1	ca. 90	
	Diad. head	2 birds	—	36		—	
	Diad. head	2 wolf-worms	—	60		—	
	2 diad. heads	Cross of birds	—	37		ca. 90-80	
	2 diad. heads	Bird walking	—	72		—	
K ('Wolf')	Knot. bust	Wolf-worm	—	32	2?	55-40?	
	w. cross						
	Knot. bust w. cross	Wolf-worm, with legs	—	32a (some)			
	Diad. bust and cross	Wolf's head	—	33			
	Form of shield	Hound and tree		75		—	
	Knot. bust, and bird or branch	Hound and tree	—	42		70-65?	

	<i>Obverse Types</i>	<i>Reverse Types</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>BMC Type</i>	<i>Dominant Styles</i>	<i>'Silver' contents</i>	<i>Weight</i>
	Knot. bust w. cup	Stdg. fig. (K/L)	—	20		70-65	
	Knot. bust, fac.	Knotted cross	—	52		ca. 70?	
L	Diad. bust, and cross or branch if no legend	Stdg. fig. w. 2 crosses or cross and bird or branch, in boat	(DE) LVNDONIA, or —, or (SISCP)	12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 (15)	2?	50→15	
	Diad. bust	Std. fig. as before	(DE) LVNDONIA,	13			
	Diad. bust	Shield	(DE) LVNDONIA	14			
	Knot. bust	Shield	—	34			
M	Hound	Branch-whorl	—	45	1	75→50?	
	Hound	Wolf-mask	—	62		35-40	
N	2 stdg. figs. w. 1 or 2 crosses	Dragon	—	41	2?	—	
O	Stdg. fig. w. 2 crosses	Wyvern	—	40	2, or more	35-40	
	Bust in wreath	Wyvern	—	57		ca. 60?	
	Bust in wreath	Bird in torque	—	38		—	
	Bust in wreath	Stdg. fig. (1st obv.)	—	21		—	
(Pa)	Pada)					95-92?	
Q	Beast (smooth)	Bird (smooth)	—	44	}	50→25?	
	Beast (angular)	Bird (angular)	—				
	Bust and cross	Bird (angular)	—				
	Bust and cross	Beast (angular)	—				
R	Rad. bust devolved	Standard	Runic 'apa', etc.	Runic		50→25 (see text)	
	Rad. bust devolved	Cross, annul. terminals	Runic 'apa'				
	Saltire in square	Cross, annul. terminals	—	51		—	
S	Sphinx	Whorl of 4	—	47		(ca. 50)	
T	Diad. bust	Porcupine, softened	LEV, MONITA SCORVM	9	1	60-50	
U	Diad. bust	Bird and branch	ARIP	63		—	
	Stdg. fig. w. 2 crosses, in 'boat'	Bird and branch	—	23b-d	2, or more	90→65	
	Stdg. fig. w. 2 crosses, in 'boat'	Dragon, undeveloped	—	23a		35-40	

	<i>Obverse Types</i>	<i>Reverse Types</i>	<i>Legend</i>	<i>BMC Type</i>	<i>Dominant Styles</i>	<i>'Silver' contents</i>	<i>Weight</i>
	Stdg. fig. w. 2 crosses, in 'boat'	Whorl of 3	—	23e		35-30	
	Similar, with moustaches	Bird and branch	—	23c		—	
	Archer	Bird and branch	—	—		ca. 70	
V	She-wolf and twins	Bird in vine	—	7		ca. 60	
(Va	Vanimundus)						
W	Half-fig. w. 2 crosses	Saltire over cross	—	54		—	
X	Face, flaming hair	Dragon	—	31		95-35	
(Frisian)							
Y	Beast passant	Cross	EOTBERHTVS, etc.			85-50	
	Stdg. fig. w. 2 crosses	Cross	ECGBERHTS				
Z	Fac. head	Bear	—	59		ca. 60	

Definitions and Abbreviations for Table of Series

Diad. bust	= Diademed bust.
Knot. bust	= Knotted bust, i.e. with hair in a loose knot.
Rad. bust	= Radiate bust.
.. w. cross	= <i>holding</i> cross.
.. and cross	= detached cross in field; cross under other device (and so with other motifs)
Fig.	= Full-length figure.
Half-fig.	= Half-length figure.
Stdg.	= Standing.
Std.	= Seated.
Boat	= Arc, ending in knobs, on which the figure stands.
Porcupine	= <i>Sui generis</i> . A term of convenience.
Plumed bird	= Recognizable as a bird; feathers, from head to tail, detached.
Dragon	= quadruped regardant, with bent legs, crest, duck-like jaws.
Wyvern	= similar creature without foreleg, but spine or small hump on back.
Sphinx	= creature previously called a 'centaur', but, like the classical sphinx, it is winged, obviously female, and with feline, not equine, legs and tail.
Hound	= smooth canine creature with curled tail.
Wolf	= anything shaggier.
Bear	= beast with heavy body, but perhaps long legs.
Wolf-worm	= serpent with wolf-like head.
Whorl of 3, or of 4	= 3 or 4 abbreviated wolf-worms, biting each others' tails, forming a tribracheate or cruciform pattern.
annul.	= annulets.
boss	= large pellet in ring.
pell.	= pellets.
Shield	= cruciform design of 5 bosses in circle, or 4 bosses and a central pellet; usually with 4 pellets in the interstices; sometimes with the consequent (miscalled 'Celtic') cross outlined.
Standard	= Any square design, whether or not anything of the standard but the actual <i>vexillum</i> survives.
Branch	= any piece of foliage.

Branch-whorl = branch arranged in a spiral.

Wreath = guilloche-circle.

left and right are not indicated, and probably not significant.

fac. = facing.

garb. = garbled or unintelligible.

(der.) = derivative or imitation (often foreign).

CONCORDANCE WITH *BMC*

2a	A	19	L	37	J	57	O
2b	C	20	K	38	O	58	N Mule
2c	D	21	O	39	H	59	Z
3a	G	22	?	40	O	60	J
3b	(Foreign)	23a	P	41	N	61	(Foreign)
4	E	23b-d	U	42	K	62	M
5	E	23e	P	43	(Foreign)	63	U
6	E	24	F	44	Q	64	Q
7	V	25	(Foreign)	45	M	65	Q
8	D	26	B	46	(?)	66	Z
9	T	27	B, J	47	S	67	(Foreign)
10	(Foreign)	28	(Foreign)	48	H	68	L
11	(Foreign)	29	BZ	49	H	69	A
12	L	30	(X Var)	50	D	70	R
13	L	31	X	51	R	71	Q
14	L	32	K	52	K	72	J
15	L	33	K	53	E	73	Q/R
16	L	34	L	54	W	74	A
17	L	35	Q or Y	55	Var	75	K
18	L	36	J	56	R	76	U

A CHECK-LIST OF ENGLISH FINDS OF SCEATTAS

S. E. RIGOLD AND D. M. METCALF

THE list of finds of sceattas published 35 years ago by Sutherland has proved a most useful aid to research. It has been supplemented by the lists of provenances given by Hill in his articles in the 1950s. Since then, much new information has come to light, and an up-to-date and thoroughly revised list seems desirable. We have adopted nothing from either Sutherland or Hill without verification, and unsupported citations from them, or from Sutherland's principal unprinted source, the MS. notes of D. F. Allen, made partly from memory, are given only to forestall questions about reputed findspots. Duplications are explained and exploded rather than passed over. Finds are, if possible, not multiplied *praeter necessitatem*.

Coins are listed in accordance with the series classification in the immediately preceding article. In the interest of economy, we have restricted the plates almost entirely to provenanced coins of which photographs have not previously been published. Even so, we have been able to illustrate over fifty new coins.

The list of place-names is in alphabetical order, not under counties; but the historic county, abbreviated as in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*, is given in each case, with the current administrative county, if different, in parentheses after it. The place-name is normally a parish, sometimes a conspicuous locality within it, or alternatively this is given after the parish-name, and in any case they are cross-referenced. In some cases a brief description of the locality is given, especially its status in Roman (abbr. 'R') or Anglo-Saxon, generally, in fact, Middle-Saxon, times (abbr. 'A-S'). In the case of famous cities this is not needed. Names entirely in parentheses are findspots erroneously reported, or most probably so; in a few unsubstantiated cases the benefit of doubt is given, i.e. they are possible and cannot be dismissed on negative evidence.

There are only two large hoards, Aston Rowant and Hougham. These, together with grave-groups and small hoards of from 3 to 20 coins, when their integrity is certain, are signalled by italics; pairs, singles, even large assemblages with no guarantee of association, are not distinguished.

Each entry, so far as information is available, is in four lines:

- i. precise location with Grid reference (six-figure), and circumstances of finding;
- ii. *BMC* type, with finer description, and weight. Information on the alloy of the coins, which makes up the third and last section of our joint project, has had to be deferred to a later volume because of pressure on space. The figures published in *Studies in the Composition of Early Medieval Coins* (1968) have been re-checked, and tin has now been measured in many more sceattas.
- iii. date of discovery, present or last-known location, sometimes pedigree;
- iv. printed references, where possible subsuming other references, with notices of

illustrations; where unpublished, sources of personal information. If neither is given one or other of us has seen the coin or a photograph or cast of it. In line iii '*ca.*' implies a margin of a decade or so; '*ante*' means at any time, perhaps a long period, up to and including the date of first notice, while, e.g. '1950-' means 1950 or shortly (not more than one or two years) before. The series-letter is given in the left-hand margin against line ii, or wherever appropriate in those long entries where some form of internal tabulation is used instead of the four-line pattern.

Distribution

Where the numbers are sufficient a distribution-map is provided for each series (pp. 33, 35, and 37). The possible pitfalls of reasoning from such evidence are well known, for instance, of confusing area of acceptance with place of production—indeed, of confusing acceptance with rejection. The grave-hoards seem a fair and consistent index of acceptance, but such hoards themselves have a restricted distribution. A repeated pattern of stray finds (as in Series R) is certainly good evidence of acceptance and probably of mintage. The rest needs care in evaluation: but provisionally the following generalizations, sometimes unexpected, may be made, which affect no series in particular:

- i. the relation of finds to ridgeways and other drove-roads, reflecting perhaps already the 'big business' of droving, one of the few trades calling for money;
- ii. the number found on Roman sites and hill forts (useful for herding and cattle-fairs as well as defence), though this may be affected by excavation with other than Anglo-Saxon ends on these sites;
- iii. the striking irregularity, both in number and variety, of finds from urban sites and ports;
- iv. not only the maritime pattern of distribution but the importance of the Thames (but no other river), throughout its length, almost repeating that in the period of settlement;
- v. as one of us has noticed elsewhere, the sudden expansion, with the secondary series, from little more than 'old' Kent and the lower Thames to the whole of Mercia and most of Wessex.

ABINGDON, Brk (Ox). A-S minster-site.

I. Wootton Rd., $\frac{1}{2}$ km. NW. of abbey (SU 493980).

U Type 23b. 1.07 g.

ca. 1957. Ashm. M.

Metcalf 1972 (pl. VI, 1).

II. 'Near', no further details.

E Porcupine, A. 0.77 g.

ante 1941. Ashm. M., Evans bequest.

Metcalf 1966 (pl. XVI, 42).

ASTON ROWANT, Ox.

HOARD. Grove Wood, near Icknield Way ? (SU 743983).

A, B (+BZ), C, D, E, F 324 recovered. Types, including derivatives: Frisian Runic (162); Porcupines (62); Primary Runic (46); 27 inc. 29 (1), (26); Frankish (8); 2a (4). 1971, 1974-. 188 in B.M., rest dispersed. J. P. C. Kent, in *Oxoniensia* xxxvii (1972), 243-4; Seaby, 1972, 227; *Med. Arch.*, xvi (1972), 160; *Coin Hoards*, i (1975), 87; Glend., 13:III:1975, lots 211-42 (illus.).

AXFORD, in Ramsbury, Wi. (SU 251703)

ante 1892. In Brooke colln., and probably sold to Spinks, 1912.

Mentioned in J. W. Brooke's notebook in Devizes M., and in Marlborough Coll., 1892.

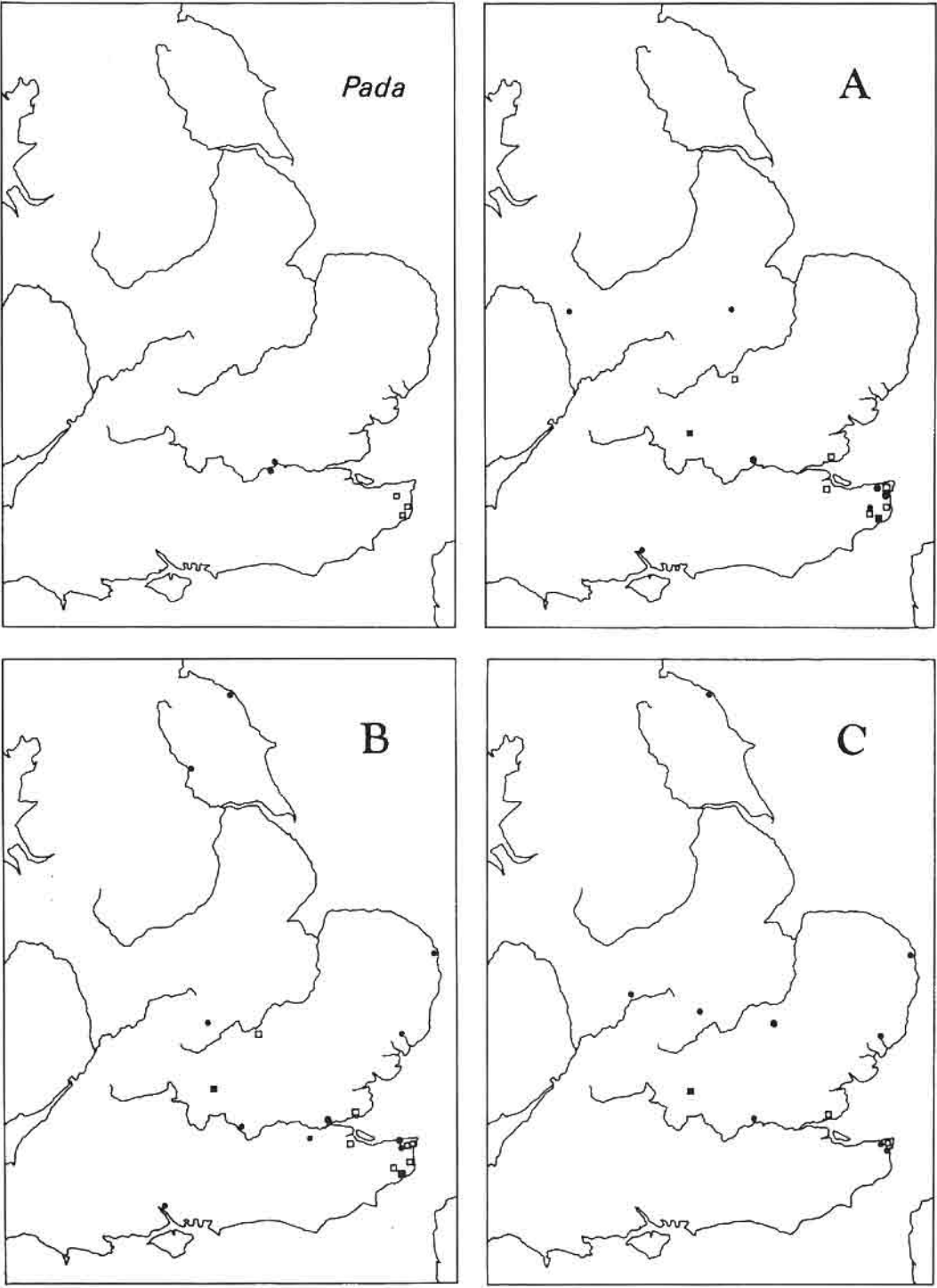


FIG. 1

BADSEY, Wo.

- Badsey Fields, lands of G. Jones (SP 08 43).
L Type 12 ('Hwiccan' style).
 1945-. Worcester M?
Tr. Worcs. Arch. Soc., n.s. xxi (1944), 77;
 Metcalf 1976a (pl. 12, 10); id., 1977 (fig. 16);
SCBI Midlands, —.

BANBURY, Ox.

- On allotment, SW. of town centre
 (SP 451394), near Salt Way.
J Type 37 (plated imitation). 0.75 g.
 1964. Ashm. M.
 Metcalf 1965; id., 1976b.

BARHAM, K (Breach Down).

- Grave-find in excavated barrow-cemetery,
 1 km. S. of church (TR 207490).
A, B 5 coins: 2 of series A (Type 2a), 3 of B
 (Type 27).
 1841. 1 coin in B.M., 1 formerly Lockett
 coll.; rest untraced.
 C. Roach Smith, *CA*, i, 7 (pl. VI); Rigold
 1960 ('Hoard III'), 1 illus.

BARHAM, K (parish, not Breach Down).

- I. In village (TR 205500 app.).
E Porcupine, V. 1.15 g.
 1843-. Ashm. M., Evans bequest, ex Rolfe.
 Metcalf 1966 (pl. XV, 7); Akerman in
Archaeologia, xxx, 56, which gives the find-
 spot, does not compel description as Type 2a
 (Rigold 1960, 51) and most likely refers to
 the Rolfe coin.
 II, III. See Kingston Down.

BARRINGTON, Ca.

- I. Malton Farm, 3 km. SW. of church
 (TL 373485).
U Type 23e (imitative?) 0.78 g.
 1867. Ashm. M.
 II, III, and possibly another, associated (?).
E Porcupines, D and G. 0.76 g.; 0.68 g.
 Late 19th cent. Fitzw. M., ex Conybeare
 coll.
 Fox, *Archaeol. Cambr. Region*, 294; Metcalf
 1966 (pl. XVI, 38-9); *Ann. Report of the
 Syndicate . . . of the Fitzw.*, 1975, pl. IX, r, s.

BATH, So (Avon).

- ? 'Small silver coins resembling the early Saxon
sceattae' are said to have been found in a
 small copper box inside a stone coffin, pre-
 sumably in the 1755 excavations. Whether
 these coins really were sceattas is uncertain.
 Thompson, in *Med. Arch.* iii (1959), 281,
 discussing Lewis, *Topog. Dict. Engl.* i, 169.

Bedfordshire, see Kempston.

BINSEY, Ox.

- Island-settlement, 2 km. NW. of Oxford
 (SP 49 09, app.).
E Porcupine, E. (var.). 1.14 g.
ante 1942. Ashm. M.
 Metcalf 1966 (pl. XVI, 43).

BIRCHINGTON, K.

- Probable grave-find, certainly associated
 (? Minnis Bay) (TR 302690?).
B, C, D 5 coins: 1 Type 27 (BII); 1 Primary
 Runic; 2 Frisian Runic; 1 of Epillus (Mack
 307). Underweight for types, one plated.
ante 1848. Ashm. M., Evans bequest, ex
 Rolfe.
 C. Roach Smith, *CA*, i, 64, pl. xxiii; Rigold
 1960 ('Hoard VII'), 1 illus.

BIRCHINGTON, K (separate find).

- D** Type 8 (Frisian). 1.00 g.
 Maidstone M., Nicholls gift, ex Edwards.
 No further details. Rigold 1960, 48. Pl. I, 10.

Bitterne, see Southampton.

Bonhunt, see Wicken Bonhunt.

BRACKLEY, Np.

- Recorded as 'possibly found at Brackley'
 (SP 59 38). The place is on a drove.
J Type 27 (BIIIC, derivative?). 0.73 g.
ante 1902. Northampton M.
VCH Northants, i (1902), 255. *SCBI
 Midlands*, 66.

BRADWELL-ON-SEA, Ess (Ythanchester). R.

- Shore-fort; A-S minster-site.
 Within or near walls of fort (TM 031081).
E Porcupine.
 1865.
 C. Roach Smith, *Gent. Mag.*, 1865, ii, 403;
VCH Essex, i, 328.

Breach Down, see Barham.

BREEDON-ON-THE-HILL, Le. A-S minster-

- site; hill fort.
 From excavation in minster-area by Miss
 A. Dornier (SK 405233).
T Type 9.
 1975.
Med. Arch., xx (1976), 165.

BRENTFORD, Mdx (G.Lond.) or near.

- B** Type 27 (series B).
 Museum of London, ex Brentford M., ex
 Layton coll.; provenance presumptive.
 Rigold 1960, 52. See *London Archaeologist*,
 iii (1977), 90-6.

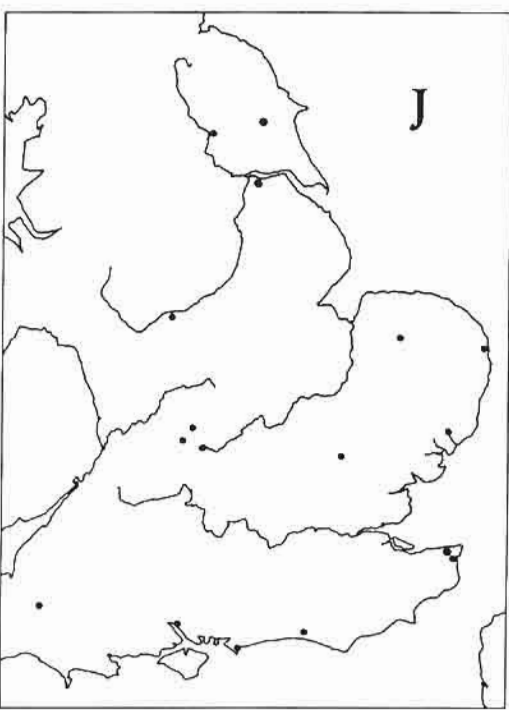
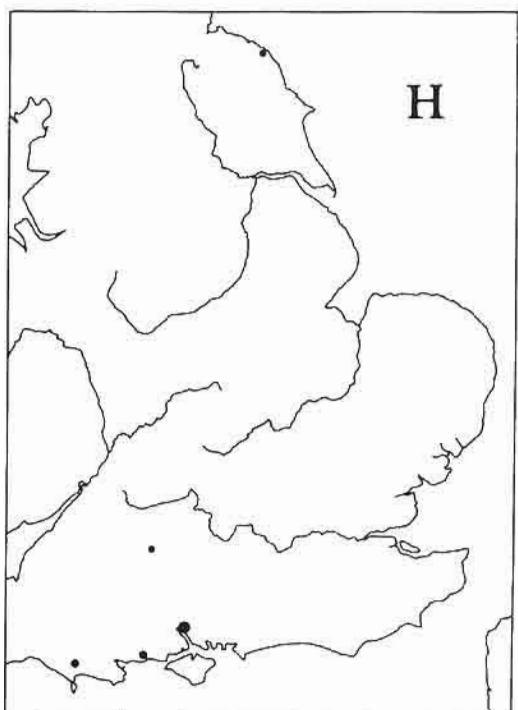
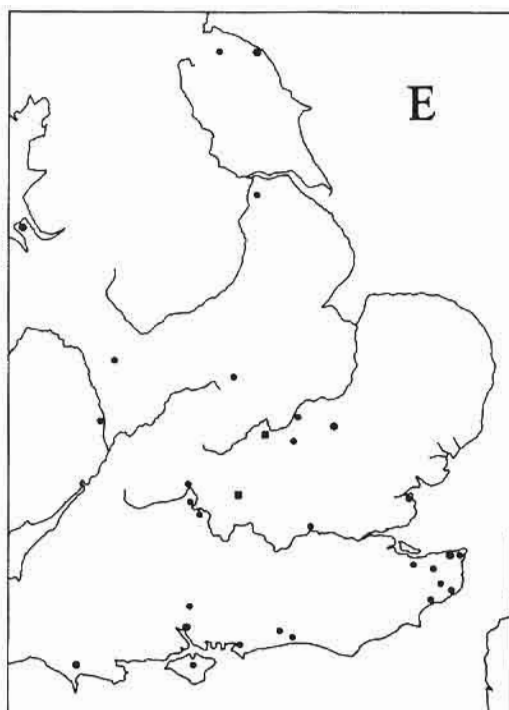
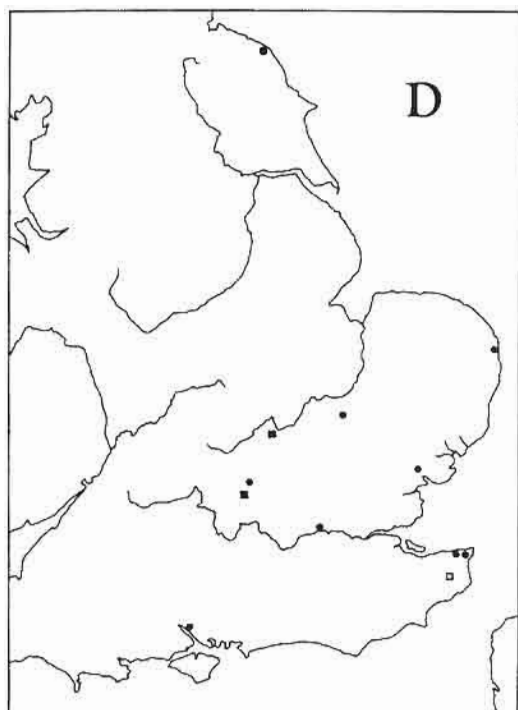


FIG. 2

BRIGHTON, Sx, hinterland of (?).

Provenance and authenticity queried, but said to be local.

- L** Type 34. 1.10 g.
ante 1940. Ashm. M. ex J. G. Milne.
 Metcalf, Merrick, and Hamblin 1968, 28;
 Metcalf 1976b.

BROADSTAIRS, K.

Grave-find in excavated cemetery, Valetta House, now Bradstow School (TR 395671).

- A, B** 8 coins; 3 of series A (Type 2a), 5 of B (Type 27).
 1911. 7 coins in private possession, 1 lost.
 Rigold 1960 ('Hoard I'), with references (7 illus.). (Baldwin Brown, iii, 84, 108 is an erroneous reference to this).

BURGH CASTLE, Sf. R. Shore-fort; A-S minster-site.

Four separate finds, all 'secondary Runic' or allied.

- R** I. Within fort, S. end, on site of motte (TL 474 044).
 R2, 'epa', clear votive legend, annulet cross-terminals.
ca. 1850 (probably 1857).
Nf. Arch., v (1859), 233. Hill 1951 ('cf. BMC pl. I, 9') means this coin.

- R** II. Type 70 (R2zb), standard with saltire for obv. 1.02 g.
ante 1950. B.M. ex Lockett.
 Hill 1953.

- R** III. Within fort.
 R2, 'wigræd', biaxially symmetrical standard.
 1967. Electrotyp in Norwich Castle M.

- R** IV. Outside fort to NE. (TL 477047 app.).
 R2, as I but normal terminals. 1.05 g.
 Coppery surface.
 1976. Private coll., cast in Norwich Castle M.

Cackham, see Cakeham.

CAISTER-ON-SEA (by YARMOUTH), Nf. R. small walled town; A-S settlement.

Five separate finds, all except I from excavations by C. Green, 1952-4.

- R** I. 'Trench in main street' (TG 522122?).
 R2, 'epa'.
 1932. Casts in BM and Norwich Castle M.
 Shown in B.M. 1938; letter from D. F. Allen, XII: 1941, Rigold 1960 (illus.).

- II. Courtyard of R. inn, near A-S hut-site (TG 516124).

- R** R2, 'spi'.
 1952. Norwich Castle M., Caister 138.
 Rigold 1960 (illus.).

III. W. Side of Roman harbour, near A-S cemetery (TG 517123).

- D** Frisian Runic, R3.
 1954, as above, Caister 680.
 Rigold 1960 (illus.).

- B** IV. Modern sewer-trench.
 Type 27 (BI, 9 i a). 1.13 g.
 1954, as above, Caister 562.

V. A-S cemetery, in or over top-filling of grave (TG 517 123).

- J** Type 37. 1.05 g.
 1954, as above, Caister 614.
 Rigold 1960 (illus.).

CAISTOR ST. EDMUNDS (by NORWICH), Nf. R. *civitas* capital; A-S cemetery.

Not from recorded excavations (TG 23 03).

- R** Two coins, both secondary Runic, R2.
ante 1909.
 Sotheby, 1: VI: 1909, 3.

CAISTOR-ON-THE-WOLDS, Li. R. fort or small town; possible minster.

Grammar School, boarding house (TA 115013).

- Y** Eadberht, cf. BMC 8. Tribrach below beast.
 1966?
 Rigold, *Lincs. Hist. and Arch.*, ii (1967), 46-7. Pl. III, 54.

CAKEHAM, Sx. Episcopal manor in West Wittering, near Selsey.

- E** Porcupine. Possibly a beach-find (SZ 783973 app.).
ante 1913.
 Sotheby, 17: XI: 1913. lot 155.

CAMBRIDGE, near.

HOARD. No hint of closer provenance has appeared.

- Q, R** At least 9 coins, probably 12 or more, but J. Evans thought that the 9 he reported comprised most of a 'small' hoard. Types: secondary Runic, R2 (6 [Evans, 4-9: 3 'ep', 1 'spi', 2 'wigræd'], *plus*, possibly, 3 [SCBI Fitzw., 234-6: 1 'epa', 2 'wigræd'], 1 in Hill 1951); Type 44 (3 [Evans], *plus*, possibly, 2 [Grantley coll., noted by Allen from 'near Cambridge'; probably those, 1 with both animals laterally reversed, in Sotheby 17: XI: 1913, ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, and NCirc 1920, 77788]). Any but the Evans coins may be separate finds but 'near Cambridge' about the same date is suggestive. 1890s. Ashm. M., Evans bequest, and Fitzw. M. (?). J. Evans, NC 3, xiv (1894), 18-28 (all illus.); Rigold 1960 ('Hoard IX').

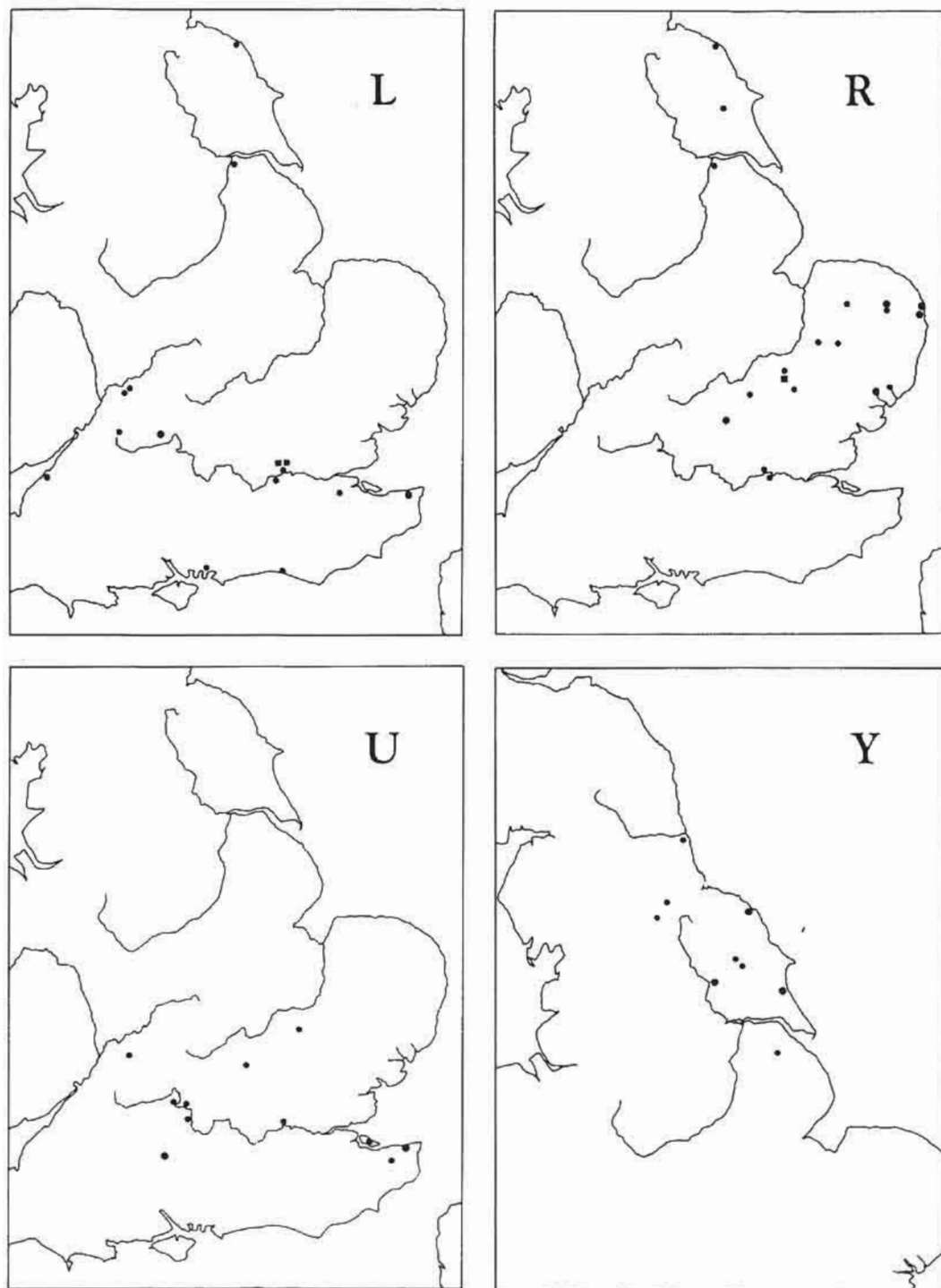


FIG. 3

CAMBRIDGE, near (separate finds).

- C** I. Rly or Rlz, of odd style with blundered runes 'as' (?). 1.17 g.
ante 1913, Fitzw. M. ex Young, ex Carlyon Britton. *SCBI Fitzw.*, 232.
- D** II. R3. 1930s (?). Shown at B.M., 1935-9. MS. note by Allen.
- D** III. R3, very deformed head. 1.11 g.
ca. 1970. Shown at B.M. 26:III:1971 by inhabitant of Cambridge.
Inf. Miss M. Archibald. Pl. I, 9.
See also the preceding entry.

CAMPFIELD, in North Stoke, Sx. Hill fort.
(Association with Manchester erroneous.)
Found in digging foundations (TQ 038112 app.).

- ? Type unknown, but 'uninscribed . . . of the most frequent types, much worn'.
1821 or earlier?
Metcalf 1960, nos. 5 and 6; Dallaway, *Hist. Sussex*, 1819, says 'coins found . . . none preserved'.

CANTERBURY, K.

- E** I. Porcupine/'æthiliræd'. 1.06 g.
19th cent. Ashm. M., Evans bequest, ex J. Evans.
Metcalf, Merrick, and Hamblin 1968 (illus.).
- O** II. Hop-garden near Canterbury.
Type 40.
ante 1747.
Gent. Mag. 1747; Metcalf 1974 (pl. II, H).
- U** III. Brickfield, near Canterbury. Prob. SE.
Hackington (TR 160595 app.).
Type 23b (bird and branch).
ante 1950. Canterbury City M., ex Capt. Newington, ex Arnold.
- V** IV. St. Pancras church, child's burial, near S. wall under added porticus, excavated by F. Jenkins (TR 156 578).
Type 7. 1.02 g. Milliprobe: high Ag content.
1975. Dept. of Environment.
Med. Arch., xx (1976), 163-4. Pl. III, 47.

CARLISLE, Cu.

- Z** I. Type 59 (related to 66 and 23a?) 0.98 g.
19th cent. Formerly Lockett, ex. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, Creeke, Ready, and Batty.
Hill 1952 (pl. IV, 13); id. 1953 (pl. VII, 6); Baldwin Brown, III (pl. V, 7).

CASTOR, NP (Ca). R. mansio; A-S minster-site.
In or near churchyard (minster-site)
(TL 125985), not in excavations.

- A** A, type 2a. 0.97 g.

ante 1930. Peterborough M.
Hill 1951; inf. M. Howe. Pl. I, 1.

CHEDWORTH, Gl.

St. John's Ashes, site of old church
(SP 047124).

- L** Type 18 ('Hwiccian' style?). 0.85 g.
1856, B.M. (103).
Proc. Soc. Ant., iv (1859), 9; Metcalf 1976a
(pl. XII, 8).

CHICHESTER, Sx. R. *civitas* capital; other middle
Saxon finds.

Type 44 or similar (cf. *BMC*, p. IV, 8).

- Q?** L. A. Lawrence coll. (lot 196).
Hill 1952.

CHIPPING WARDEN, Np.

'Black Grounds' (R. villa site—SP 51 48),
near 'Welsh Road'.

- J** BIII, b or BIII, c ('cf. Ruding, pl. I, 17').
Probably 1846.
JBAA ii (1847), 346; *VCH Northants*, i, 255.

CLATFORD, in Preshute, Wi, near Marlborough.
A crossing on a 'feed' to the Ridge Way
(SU 160688).

- H** Type 49.
1890-.
Marlborough College Nat. Hist. Soc. Rep.,
xxxix (1891), 114, pl. II, 5. Then in the colln.
of J. W. Brooke, and presumably sold to
Spinks in 1912.

COLCHESTER, Ess. R. colony; little middle
Saxon evidence.

- D** Type 8.
1903-. Colchester and Essex M. (536:03).
Pl. I, 11.

COMPTON, St. (W. Midlands). SO 885988?

- A** I. A3, 15; type 2a, somewhat barbarous.
0.96 g.
Ashm. M., ex J. Faulkner of Endon, Staffs.
Rigold 1960 (illus.); Glend., 21:V:1940.
- E** II. Porcupine, irregular. 1.19 g.
Ashm. M., same provenance and sale.
Metcalf 1966 (pl. XVI, 44).

COSHAM, Ha.

Garden find, 1, Mansvid Ave. (SU 666053).

- L** Type 14, 1.06 g.
1968. Portsmouth M.
Inf. D. J. Rudkin. Pl. II, 29.

COVENTRY, Wa.

- C Primary Runic, Rly, 'epa'. 1.12 g.
1850, Coventry M., ex Pratt.
SCBI Midlands, 63; probably the coin shown
at B.M. in 1911: Metcalf 1977, note 13.

CROSBY, Li (Humberside).

- In blown sand, Old Park Farm (Atkinson's
Warren) (SE 87921303).
E Porcupine K (Type 6, 'plumed bird'). 1.15 g.
1949. Scunthorpe M.
H. Dudley, *Early Days in NW. Lincolnshire*
(1949), 234; Metcalf, Merrick, and Hamblin
1968, 42.

Dale Hill, see Pyecombe.

DATCHET, Bk (Brk).

- Garden find, E. of village (SU 990790).
X Type 31.
c. 1970.
Metcalf 1976b (pl. I, 4).

DEPTFORD, K (G.Lond.).

- (This find was reported to one of us verbally
by a third party. It has occurred to us to
wonder whether the findspot was really
Thetford. Compare the style of Pl. III,
38 and 40.)
(TQ 77 39 app.).
R Type R2, imitation of Wigræd? 0.82 g.
1977-. Pl. III, 40.

DINGLEY, Np.

- (SP 77 88 app.).
E Porcupine V.
ante 1712.
Morton, *Nat. Hist. of Northants* (pl. 14);
VCH Northants, i, 255; Metcalf 1976b
(illus.).

DORCHESTER, Do. R. *civitas* capital.

- 6 or more possible finds: those in Dorchester
M., however, are without marked provenance
or date and VI may be Dorchester-on-
Thames. See also Weymouth.
E I-III. Porcupines (I, D). (D, 21), 1.1 g,
0.69 g, 1.08 g.
Dorchester M.
Metcalf 1966, pl. XVI, 29, 45.
IV, V. Type 49. 0.95 g, 0.93 g.
H Dorchester M.; Fitzw. M., ex Carlyon
Britton.
SCBI Fitzw., 258.
K VI. Type 20.
Sotheby, 14: III: 1898, lot 170.
Q VII. Type 35 var. 0.75 g, worn, base.
Dorchester M.

DORCHESTER-ON-THAMES, Ox. R. small
walled town; A-S minster and see.

Two separate finds (SU 53 98 app.); none
from extensive excavations. See also item VI
in previous entry.

- P I. Type 23a var. 0.80 g.
ante 1823. Ashm. M.
Skelton, *Antiquities of Oxfordshire*, 1823,
Dorc. hund., 10. NC iii (1841/2), 23. Metcalf
1972, 62 and notes 47, 48. Hill, 1951, 1952,
etc., means this coin, calling it a var. of
Types 40 or 41.
U II. Type 23b (bird and branch). 1.15 g.
ante 1940. Ashm. M.
Metcalf 1972 (pl. VI, 2).

DOVER, K. R. shore fort: A-S minster.

- I, II. Long Hill (Old Park) cemetery
(TR 309430).
Pa 2 coins of Pada (Pa IIB; Pa III) in one
grave, mounted as pendants. 1.08 g.; 1.22 g.
c. 87% Ag; 66% Ag.
1952. B.M.
Rigold 1960 (1 illus.).
III. Excavations by B. J. Philp in area of
shore-fort and minster (TR 318414).
E Porcupine A: exceptional (late?) var. (cf.
Sullington). 1.23 g.
1970.
Inf. B. J. Philp. Pl. I, 15.

DUNSTABLE, Bd. Near crossing of Watling
Street with Icknield Way.

- Dates suggest coins might be associated
(TL 02 22 app.), but hardly contemporary.
D I. Frisian Runic, R3, with head left. 1.02 g.
1852-.
NC xv (1852), 94-5 (illus.).
R II. R2, 'epa' (?). 0.58 g.
1851. Formerly Grantley coll., if Allen's
MS. note refers to this coin.
Sotheby, 21: VI: 1909, lot 23 = 17: XI: 1913,
lot 154b (not Type 3a).

EASTCOTE, in Pattishall, Np.

- On or near Banbury Lane ('Jurassic Way')
(SP 68 54 app.).
T Type 9, var., MONITA SCORVM. 1.10 g.
1950.
British Museum Quarterly, xv (1952), 54
(pl. XXII, 4); Hill 1953 (pl. VI, 28). Pl. IV, 48.

FARNINGHAM, K.

- Possibly Charton, where was a late cemetery
(TQ 555665).
B Type 27 (Blb, 4 ii b). 1.02 g., pierced for
mounting and worn.

- 1870s. Maidstone M., ex R. Ashenden.
Rigold 1960, 52.
- FAVERSHAM, K.**
Probably King's Field cemetery (TR 013609).
? Type unknown.
1890s. Formerly Kennard coll.
Meanev 1964, 119.
- FINGLESHAM** in Northbourne, K.
Grave-find in excavated cemetery
(TR 325534).
A, B 8 coins, 2 of series A (Type 2a), 6 of B
(Type 27).
1965. Private possession.
Rigold 1966 ('Hoard X'), illus.
- FRAMLINGHAM, Sf.**
(TM 28 63 app.).
O Type 40.
ante 1885.
Sotheby, 22:VII:1885, lot 9.
- GARTON-ON-THE-WOLDS, Y** (Humberside).
Grave-find, excavated in Garton Slack
cemetery (SE 959618).
G, J, K, R? 8 coins: BIIIb, 5 and 6; Type 37 (2);
Type 32a; Type 3a (2); R2z, 'epa' (perhaps
related in technique to BIIIc).
1959. Private possession.
Trans. Yorks. Num. Soc. 2, i/5 (1960), 28-30;
G. Teasdale, in *Yorks. Arch. J.* clxiii (1965),
358; Rigold 1960 ('Hoard VIII'), all illus.;
Rigold 1966.
- Grain, Isle of, K, in or near, see Hoo, hundred of.
- HADSTOCK, Ess.**
R? R2, probably; not excessively base. Hawkins
noted the runes and called it 'transitional';
possibly, then, a Beonna.
ca. 1848 or 1854.
Braybrook Diaries (Cambridge Univ. M.),
5:VIII:1854.
- Hardingstone, Np, see Hunsbury.
- HEMEL HEMPSTEAD, Hrt, near.**
O Type 40. 1.07 g.
ante 1941. Ashm. M., Evans bequest.
Metcalf, Merrick, and Hamblin, 1968.
- HITCHIN, Hrt.**
X Type 31.
ante 1898. Not identifiable in B.M.
Sotheby 14:III:1898, lot 173.
- HOO, Hundred of, K.** Contained St. Werburgh's
minster.
A location 'near the Isle of Grain' must
mean the adjoining mainland, the parishes
of Stoke, Allhallows or St. Mary's, Hoo
(TQ 85 75 very app.). Both coins found
'under an old wall', the second 'on the Isle
of Grain'.
A, K Types 2a (1978); 20 (1977).
1977-.
Seaby 1977, E 1131. Pl. II, 22; 1978, E 237.
- HORNSEA, Y.**
Y Æthelred I.
Metcalf, 1960, no. 108.
- HOUGHAM, K.**
HOARD. Found in digging brick-earth
(TR 272403, or TR 296413?).
A, B *ca.* 200 coins. Series A (Type 2a) and
Series B (Type 27; BI).
ca. 1780. Dispersed but selections probably
in B.M., Hunterian M., etc.
Inf. C. E. Blunt, who has kindly shown us
a draft of his forthcoming publication.
- HOUGHTON REGIS, Bd.**
I. Easthill Road (TL 022245).
S Type 47. 0.67 g. Certainly the coin once lent
to Letchworth M.: *not* runic.
1938. Metcalf, ex Sotheby, 24:1:1977.
Metcalf 1976b (illus.).
II. All Saints Road (TL 018243).
U Type 23b (bird and branch).
1973. Sold: destiny unknown.
Local newspaper reports, 1973 (illus.).
- HUNSBURY, in Hardingstone, Np.** Hill fort, with
cemetery, by Banbury Lane ('Jurassic Way').
Surface-find, within ramparts (SP 737583).
B Type 27. BII, akin to BII, 3. 1.26 g.
1956.
Metcalf 1976b; Meanev 1964, 189 (quotes
1953); *Med. Arch.*, xvi (1972), 159.
- HYTHE, K.**
Porcupine G. 1.19 g.
E *ante* 1932. Birmingham M.
SCBI Midlands, 64.
- ILCHESTER, So, near.** R. walled town, later *burh*.
Possible small hoard or grave-find: found
with 4 other coins.
J Type 27, BIII (compared with BIIIb).
ante 1917.
Sotheby 19:VII:1917, lot 52.
- IPSWICH, Sf.** A productive Middle-Saxon urban
site.
3 separate finds (remarkably few!)
R I. R2, 'ep'.
ante 1909. C. E. Blunt coll., ex Rashleigh.
Sotheby, 1:VI:1909, lot 23. Rigold 1960
(illus.).

- R** II. Old Foundry Rd. (TM 16624466).
R2, 'ep'. 1.11 g.
1966. Ipswich M.
Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch., xxx (1966), 275-83.
- R** III. 52, Parliament St. (TM 18724443).
R2, derivative, 'ep', broken.
1973, Ipswich M.
Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch., xxxiii (1973-5), 100.
- IRCHESTER**, Np. R. small walled town.
(SP 92 67 app.).
- K** Type 20 (has been described as 17).
ante 1898.
Sotheby, 14:III:1898, lot 172.
- (Islip, Twywell, Np.)
This seems to be a misconception. Meaney
1964, 190-1.
- JARROW**, Du (Tyne and Wear). A-S minster.
I. From excavations; lower make-up of
S. bank (NZ 339652).
- U** Type 23b (bird and branch). 0.81 g.
1976. Durham Univ., Dept. of Archaeol.
Inf. Prof. R. Cramp. Pl. III, 46.
- II. From excavations, upper make-up of
bank, as I.
- Y** Eadberht, as *BMC*, pl. XX, 4, without inner
ring. 0.71 g.
1976. Durham Univ., as I. Pl. III, 52.
- III. Churchyard (general locality as I and II).
- Y** Alchred, *BMC*, no. 13 (pl. XX, 9). 1.09 g.
1850, or shortly before. B.M., ex Revd. J. M.
Mason.
- KEMPSTON**, Bd (?).
The most likely origin, whether or not in the
cemetery (TL 031474), of 4 probably
associated finds, certainly from near
Bedford.
- D** I. Frisian Runic, R3.
ante 1942. Bedford M.
- E** II. Porcupine D. 0.66 g.
ante 1942. Ashm. M., ex F. W. Kuhlicke.
Metcalf 1966 (pl. XVI, 31).
- E** III, IV. Porcupine C. 0.88 g., 0.91 g.
As II. Metcalf 1966 (pl. XVI, 32, 37).
- KEW**, Sy (G.Lond.).
In the Thames near Kew (TQ 18/19 77 app.).
- Pa** Pada. PIIA; drapery in bold arc but described
as silver.
1977?
Coll. J. Booth, ex Seaby, 1977, E 1076.
- KINGSTON**, K (Kingston Down).
I. From excavation by Miss V. Evison of
flat grave 15 in the residue of the notable
barrow-cemetery (TR 202519).
- D** Frisian Runic, R3. 1.11 g.
1959.
Rigold 1960 (illus.).
- II, III. Towards Barham Down: grave-find,
perhaps an outlier of the same cemetery but
in Barham parish (TR 206524 app.).
- ?** 2 coins, type unknown (lost but associated
spearhead preserved).
1930s. Exhibited at Canterbury 1945/6.
Inf. V. Evison, the late F. W. Tomlinson.
- LAKENHEATH**, Sf.
Six finds of uncertain association. Circum-
stantial probabilities point to the cemetery
(TL 732809).
- K** I. Wolf-worm/standard.
Shown in Ashm. M., 1977. 0.81 g. Pl. II, 36.
- Q** II. Cf. type 35, head r./bird.
Ashm. M.
- Q** Seaby, 1977, E. 1130. Pl. II, 34.
- Q** III. Cf. type 44, but beast/beast.
Shown in Ashm. M., 1977. 0.81 g. Pl. II, 36.
- R** IV, V. R2, 'epa'.
Seaby 1977, E. 1128, 1978, E. 238 (both illus.).
- U** VI. Type 23e.
Seaby, 1978, E. 239 (illus.).
- LANCING**, Sx (Lancing Down). R. temple-site.
In or beside the excavated *cella* (TQ 178066).
- E** Porcupine V. If identical with *BMC* no. 64,
1.25 g.
1828. Probably B.M.
Metcalf 1976b.
- LANGFORD** (Bd, probably).
Langford, Bd (TL 19 41 app.) is near Sandy
and the Sandy finds, obviously from a local
source, are associated in the original sale-
catalogue.
- R** R2, var., with head l. and rev. as porcupine D.
Probably 1890s.
Sotheby, 14:III:1898, lot 171 (illus.).
- LONDON**
Roach Smith in 1852 published engravings of 7
sceattas from London, 'found in the Thames and
are part of my London collection'. In the preface
to his *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*
(1854) he explains how coins were found when the
bed of the Thames was deepened near London
Bridge, and how many antiquities were found in the
course of roadworks and the digging of trenches for
sewers. The *Catalogue* lists 13 sceattas, including
those illustrated in 1852, but describes most of
them only very briefly, by references to Ruding

(eleven others, Ruding I, 2; II, 4, 9, 22; and, in part, cf. xxv, 13, 14. Six are engraved in *CA*). Roach Smith also mentions that four other large collections of London antiquities had been formed in the same circumstances as his own, and that three of them had been dispersed at auction.

The British Museum collection now includes (as well as the London finds published in *BMC*) a further 14 or so sceattas, also ex Roach Smith, which were transferred from the Dept. of British and Medieval Antiquities only in 1935. Some at least of these correspond with the finds published in 1852-4, although the 14 seem not to include all of them.

The 'THAMES HOARDS'. Hoards, or closely associated groups, are believed to have been found in the foreshore mud on 2 or more distinct occasions in the 19th century, probably during reclamation and embankment in the E. part of the City (TQ 330806 app.). They are distinguished in varying degrees by a high proportion of base, light, and in some cases imitative, pieces, and rejection, rather than concealment, may be the explanation.

D?, E, M?, N, R, S, T, U A. At least 9 coins (*CA* illus. 7; *CMLA* counts 11), perhaps from 2 sources. Probable constituent types: Porcupine D (1.00 g.), and (?) another (1.11 g.) and 'plumed bird' (1.12 g.); type 23c/34 (not 49) (0.94 g.); 41b, 2 (1.12 g., 0.76 g.); R2 (1.01 g.); 47, 2 (1, 0.82 g., broken); 9 (0.35 g., broken) (types associated in Wrotham find); perhaps 45 (0.83 g.); just possibly 8.

ante 1852 (ca. 1849?). Some (7-9), but not all, in B.M. ex Roach Smith.

CA, ii (pl. XLIV); *CMLA*, 107; Hill 1953.

K (L), L B. At least 16 coins, found in a lump. Certain constituents: Types 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23e, 32a, 33 (*BMC* nos. 88, 91-4, 96-8, 100, 102, 104, 105, 117, 152, 159, 160. Possibly also no. 95 (but not 103) and another of type 33, ex Roach Smith.

1860. B.M., ex Roach Smith (not in his earlier museum).

Dolley and Strudwick 1955; Metcalf 1976a.

L C. 5 or 6 coins, possibly same deposit as B. Types: 12, 15a, 15 var., with 2 branches, 16/15b, 23a (1.11, 0.97, 1.04, 1.08, 0.80 g.). Another of Type 12, 0.84 g., may be from this find or B; Sotheby, 17: XI: 1913, lot 161; *SCBI Mack*, no. 340.

ante 1897. Ashm. M., ex A. W. Franks (d. 1897).

Sutherland 1942; Metcalf 1976a.

Other reported finds, not already mentioned as candidates for the 'hoards'. Of those assigned to 'Hoard A' the 2nd Porcupine, the 'plumed bird' and the 23e/34 may belong here, while none from Roach Smith can be absolutely excluded from the hoard.

Pa I, II, Pada. P III, 3; P III, 4b. 1.24 g., 1.91 g., broken; base.

ante 1854. B.M. ex Roach Smith.

Rigold 1960. *CMLA*, 107, no. 562.

C III. RI. 1.24 g. Blundered votive legend; looks too good for Hoard A.

ante 1852. B.M. ex Roach Smith.

CA, ii, pl. XLIV, 9.

A? IV. A2, type 2a, or similar. This depends on a literal acceptance of a reference to Ruding in *CMLA*. It is not in the B.M. ex Roach Smith, but something of the kind from London appeared in Sotheby, 22: IV: 1918, lot 3.

L V. Type 15b, var. (i), *SISCP* (?). 1.18 g.

ante 1854. B.M. ex Roach Smith.

CMLA, 106, no. 561; Hill 1953, pl. VI, 18.

M VI. Type 45.

1976, reported from Thames foreshore mud. Metcalf colln.

VII. 'Near London', provenance dubious (but type probably East Saxon).

Z Type 66. 0.91 g.

Hill 1953, pl. VII, 13. Formerly Lockett, ex Grantley. Lockett 244, but the London provenance is attached to Lockett 245.

See also Putney, Kew, Brentford, Deptford.

(Long Sutton, Li. Almost certainly erroneous: see Norwich area.)

Malton (Farm), Ca. See Barrington.

MALTON, Y.

Eadberht. *BMC* no. 10. 0.87 g.

Y 1850. B.M. ex Dr. Hemingway.

Dolley and Strudwick 1956.

Manchester (Dubious).

9 coins (Sutherland 1942), untraced, would seem, at nearest, to have been 'stycas'.

See Otterspool.

(Marlborough, Wi. Erroneous; see Oxford.)

Both reported finds are to be rejected. The type 31 is undoubtedly a misdescription of the unique specimen of type 62, from near Oxford. The type 41a cited from *CA* is a copying error. But see Clatford, which is near Marlborough.

MEOLS, Chs (Merseyside).

2 coins from Meols Sands, an astonishingly productive littoral settlement site (SJ 20 88/89 app.).

E I. Porcupine A. 0.45 g.
1865.

E II. Porcupine V. 1.10 g.
1867.

For both, *Tr. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, N.S. vi (1865-6), 215f., viii (1867-8), 107, 113-15; *Jnl. Liverpool Num. Soc.*, 1873, 14-15, 19, 20. Speculation here on the origin of the 'porcupine' accounts for the erroneous citation of a find of type 7.

MILTON REGIS, K.

HOARD, presumably grave-find, in cemetery but found in digging brick-earth (TQ 906648?).

A, B 20 coins: 8 of series A (Type 2a), 12 of B (Type 27).

1916. 14 coins in Maidstone M., 6 in B.M. (Medieval and later Antiq.).

Rigold 1960 ('Hoard II'; 10 illus.); *AJ*, vi (1926), 446; *Arch. Cant.*, lxxviii (1963), 22-38; lxxxv (1970), 18; Rigold 1966. The note about series B coins 'from London refuse' is a garbled ref. to this find.

MILTON REGIS, K. (separate find).

W Type 54. 1.16 g.
ante 1905? Maidstone M., Edwards gift.
Pl. III, 49.

MINSTER-IN-SHEPPEY, K. A-S minster-site.

I. Found at foot of cliffs near Minster (TQ 95/8 735 app.).

X/D? Facing head, as type 30b/standard, as type 8. 0.78 g. app.
ca. 1809. Possibly Lockett 241; if not this is the only known parallel.
NC i (1838-9), 48-9 (illus.).

II. 'Said to be from Minster-in-S.'

U Type 23b (bird and branch).
Formerly F. Elmore Jones coll.

MINSTER-IN-THANET, K. A-S minster-site.

B? The note of a Type 26 (BX) from this site is quite unconfirmed. Neither the only specimen of this nor any other in the B.M. has this provenance. It might refer to an ordinary Series B piece, either from Minster or from some adjoining site, e.g. Ozengell. Rigold 1960.

MOULSFORD, Ox.

Garden find.

U Type 23b-d, in 'Mercian' style.
1977. Ashmolean M.

MUCKING, Ess. Productive occupation-site, deserted by Middle-Saxon.

From excavations by M. U. and T. Jones; on floor of large, late *Grubenhaus* (TQ 668796).

B 3 associated coins, Series B, var. BX. 1.09 g., 1.20 g., — g.
1976. Dept. of the Environment.
Antiq. J. lvii (1977), 322; *BNJ* xlvii (1977), pp. 127-8. Pl. I, 2-4.

NABURN, Y.

Naburn Ings (SE 597450 app.).

? 2 sceattas, type unknown.
1753.
Metcalf 1960, no. 153.

NEWPORT, Wt.

(SZ 49 89 app.).

E Porcupine (D?), from verbal description.
1759.
NC, 6th ser., xvii (1957), 205; Metcalf 1966.

NORMANBY, Li (Humberside).

(SE 88 16 app.).

L I. Type 12/52 var. (LVNDONIA). 0.77 g.
1970.

SCBI Mack, 341.

R II. R2. 1.04 g.
1976. Coll. D. M. Metcalf.
Metcalf 1976b (illus.).

NORTHAMPTON.

From excavations by J. Williams, E. of St. Peter's church (SP 751602).

G Type 3a, imitation with animal-head terminals. 0.79 g.
1973.
Williams, *Excav. in St. Peter's St., Northampton* (forthcoming).

NORTH ELMHAM, Nf. A-S minster and sec.

From excavation S. of cathedral by P. Wade-Martins (TF 987215).

I. BIII, imitation or odd var. without cross on rev. 0.99 g.

J 1967. Norwich Castle M.

Inf. P. Wade-Martins and Miss M. M. Archibald. Pl. II, 20.

II. Grave-find (Grave 187).

R R2, coppery and corroded. 0.22 g.
1970. Norwich Castle M.
Inf. as I. Pl. III, 41.

NORTH MORETON, Brk (Ox).

N. of village (SU 562897 app.).

- E** Porcupine, rev. like Type 3a. 1.01 g.
1976-. Private possession.
Metcalf 1976b (illus.).

NORWICH area.

Sceattas acquired in Norwich, with a presumptive local, or E. Norfolk provenance.

I. Hitherto ascribed to Long Sutton, Li, because found wrapped in a piece of paper annotated 'L. Sutton'! More arguably it is the name of the original owner, possibly W. Lincoln Sutton, of Eaton near Norwich, active in the Norfolk Arch. Soc. ca. 1900-25.

- R** Type 56. 0.97 g.
1879-. Norwich Castle M.
Hill 1952 (pl. I, 20); id., 1953 (pl. VII, 2).
- R?** II. Bust/cross with annulet terminals; probably late. 0.94 g.
Bought in Norwich.
1976. Coll. D. M. Metcalf.
Metcalf 1976b (pl. I, 16).
- R** III. R2. ca. 0.97 g.
1976.
Stanley Gibbons Currency Ltd., II:1977, 'near Norwich'. Inf. I. Stewart. Pl. III, 39.
IV, V, VI. Very dubious. Noted by Allen as 'perhaps from Norwich' on the basis of 'I think . . . casts in B.M.' (his quotes). Quite unconfirmed.

(C, L, N) R1, Type 12, Type 41b; types not paralleled locally.

OLD SARUM, Wi. Hill fort at meeting of R. roads; later burh. (SU 72 99.)

- N** Type 41b. If that in Salisbury M., 0.96 g.
ante 1771. Perhaps Salisbury M., ex Blackmore.
Metcalf 1974 (pl. I, 5); *SCBI W. Country*, 246.

Otterspool, La (Merseyside) (Dubious).

Hoard, probably 'stycas'.

Jnl. Liverpool Num. Soc., 1873, 13; Metcalf 1960, no. 38.

OXFORD, near.

Said to have been found near Marlborough, probably by confusion with another coin.

- M** Type 62.
ante 1850.
CA ii (pl. XLIV, 1); Hill 1952 (pl. II, 17); id. 1953 (pl. VII, 9); Metcalf 1976b.

See also Binsey and Wootton Bassett.

Ozengell Grange, see Ramsgate.

PIERCEBRIDGE, Du. Late R. Fort.

Just outside E. ditch of fort, near E. gate (NZ 211158).

- Y** Eadberht, close to, but not identical with *BMC* 7, pl. XX, 5.
1977.
Inf. P. Scott. Pl. III, 51.

PORTISHEAD, So (Avon).

Wetlands Rd., near a R. site (ST 462754).

- L** Type 16 ('Hwiccan' style). 0.76 g.
1969. Bristol City M.
BNJ xxxix (1970), 163-4; *SCBI W. Country*, 242; Metcalf 1976a (pl. XII, 4).

PUTNEY, Sr (G.Lond.).

Found in the Thames (TQ 24 75 app.).

- L** Type 19 but falcon in r. hand.
1976-. (Coin not seen.)

PYECOMBE, Sx.

I. Perhaps found as II below.

- G** Type 3a. 1.10 g.
1922-. B.M., ex Revd. S. E. Terry.
Hill 1951; id. 1953. Pl. I, 17.
II. Found in roadworks, Dale Hill (TQ 282128 app.).
- J** Type 37 (pierced).
1922-. Brighton M.
Rigold 1960; Metcalf 1976b (illus.).

RAMSGATE, K. (Ozengell).

Grave-find in cemetery 500 m. SE. of Ozengell Grange (TR 361654). Not certainly all from same grave, but find may have been larger.

- B** 3 coins recorded, series B (BIF identified); also an unexplained coin.
1845-7. 1 formerly Carlyon-Britton coll., ex Rolfe.
Rigold 1960 ('Hoard IV'), 1 illus.; Sotheby, 17:XI:1913, lot 164, c.

READING, Brk.

10 Jubilee Rd. (SU 743727).

- V** Type 7. 0.89 g. 70-90% Ag (0.46 bis).
1961. Reading M.
Metcalf, Merrick, and Hamblin 1968 (illus.); *Berks. Arch. J.* lix (1961), 59.

RECVLVER, K. R. Shore-fort; A-S minster-site. Some 50 sceattas, none apparently from a hoard, are certainly or deducibly from Reculver—more than from any other site except Southampton (Hamwih). In general they come from coastal erosion N. of the minster (TR 227694); extensive

recent excavations S. of it, by B. J. Philp, have produced only 2. Some may be grave-finds, but the comparable unparalleled richness in *tremisses* (Sutton Hoo, I (1975), 662) antedates the minster (669) and there were indications of civil installations (some perhaps A-S) to the N. Half the fort was eroded in the 225 years before 1810, when sea-defences began: nearly all the finds are from this period. The sources are:

i. T. Battely (d. 1708); 20 coins from his coll. published in his *Antiquitates Rutupianae* (1st ed., 1711; 2nd ed., 1745, pls. vi-vii, suffixed below *AR*); 19 from the same (not quite co-extensive) entered Trinity Coll., Cambridge, collection ca. 1740, now published in *SCBI Fitzw.* (suffixed *Fitzw.*); total, 22 coins, found ca. 1700.

ii. J. White, in a supplementary plate to R. Withy and J. Ryall, *Twelve Plates of English Silver Coins* (1756); 20 sceattas, 'found near and in the Isle of Thanet' (Reculver is just opposite Thanet); there is no apparent overlap with *AR* or *Fitzw.*, but, with the possible exception of the Series L pieces, the sample is just like other Reculver samples and we feel virtually certain that all but 1 or 2 are from Reculver; some are certainly or probably now in the B.M. (Dolley and Strudwick 1955, 36 [but *not BMC* 171]) or Hunterian M.; total, 20 coins (suffixed *WR*), found ca. 1750.

iii. Faussett coll., Heppington (afterwards Meyer coll., Liverpool?), probably going back to Bryan Faussett; published by Roach Smith in *RRL* (1850), 214 and pl. VII (1 possible overlap with *AR/Fitzw.*); total, 6 coins (suffixed *RRL*), found ca. 1800.

iv. 3 attested finds since 1950. No finds are recorded in the interval, but some suggest themselves, e.g. of those in B.M. from Eastwood, a dealer with Kentish connections.

- A I. A3, Type 2a; *AR/Fitzw.* 226; 1.09 g.
II. ditto; *AR*, not *Fitzw.* III. ditto; *WR*.
B IV. Type 27, BID, 5; *RRL*. V. ditto, BII, 10; *AR/Fitzw.* 251; 1.19 g.
C VI. Primary runic, R1z, 'epa'; *AR/Fitzw.* 233; 1.27 g.
D VII. Frisian runic; *AR/Fitzw.* 231; 1.25 g.
E VIII. Porcupine, diagonal rev.; *AR/Fitzw.* 237; 0.85 g. IX. ditto, V; *AR/Fitzw.* 238; 1.19 g. X. ditto, G; *Fitzw.* 241; 1.27 g. XI. ditto, 'plumed bird', J; *AR/Fitzw.* 246; 1.14 g. XII. ditto, rev. as I; *Fitzw.* 239; 1.01 g. XIII. ditto, G, from excavations, 1953; Maidstone M.; 1.09 g. Pl. I, 14. XIV-XVII. 4 porcupines, incl. V and 'plumed bird', K; *WR*, possibly *BMC* 57, 69, 74, 199?

- J XVIII. Type 27, BIIIA; *AR/Fitzw.* 253; 0.97 g. XIX. ditto, BIIIA; *WR* (?*BMC* 140); ?0.92 g. XX. ditto, BIIIB; *AR/Fitzw.* 252; 0.97 g. XXI. ditto, BIIIB; *WR* (?*BMC* 141); ?0.61 g.
K XXII. Type 32a; *AR/Fitzw.* 254; 0.95 g. XXIII. ditto; *AR/Fitzw.* 255; 1.06 g. XXIV. Type 33, from excavations, S. gate area; 1.08 g.; Rigold 1966. Pl. II, 23. XXV. ditto; *WR*, *BMC* 157; 1.18 g. XXVI. ditto, *RRL*. XXVII. Type 52; *WR*, *BMC* 198 ex Dymock; 1.03 g.
L XXVIII. Type 15 or similar; *WR*. XXIX. Type 18; *WR* (?*BMC* 101); ?0.94 g.
M XXX. Type 45; *WR* (?*SCBI* Hunter 106); ?1.03 g. XXXI. ditto; *Fitzw.* 256; 1.10 g. XXXII. ditto; *RRL* 7, probably *not* identical with XXXI. XXXIII. ditto; *RRL* 5. XXXIV. ditto; *Fitzw.* 257, broken.
N XXXV. Type 41a; *AR/Fitzw.* 263; 1.02 g. XXXVI. Type 41b; *WR*, *BMC* 175; 1.26 g.; Metcalf 1974, 9. XXXVII. ditto; 1969; Bird coll.; 1.02 g.; *Kent Arch. Rev.* xvii (1969), 15; Metcalf 1974, 15; Glend., 20: XI: 1974. XXXVIII. ditto; *Fitzw.* 264; 1.09 g. XXXIX. ditto; *AR/Fitzw.* 265; 0.97 g., worn.
O XL. Type 23b/40 mule; *WR*; Metcalf 1974, 12. XLI. Type 57; *WR*, *SCBI* Hunter 118; 0.86 g. XLII. Type 38/40 obv. mule; *AR*, not *Fitzw.*, broken. XLIII. Type 38; *RRL*.
Q XLIV. Type 44 var. (influence of 45 and 41?); *RRL* 3. XLV. Type 71, cf. *SCBI* Hunter 130; *WR*.
U XLVI. Type 23b-d; *AR/Fitzw.* 262, damaged. XLVII. ditto, imitation (2 reverses); *WR*.
V XLVIII. Type 7; *WR*.
X XLIX. Type 31, possibly *BMC* 148; *WR*.
? L. Uncertain (Frankish?), cross/A; *AR*. LI. Uncertain; *WR*.

REPTON, St. A-S minster-site.

By chancel of minster (SK 303272), from excavations by H. M. Taylor and M. Biddle.

- J Type 27, BIIIB, cf. BIIIB, 8. 0.88 g. Base metal.
1976.
Inf. H. M. Taylor and M. Biddle. Pl. II, 21.

RICHBOROUGH, K. R. Shore-fort; A-S chapel-site.

Roach Smith in *RRL* (1850) was able to record only 2 sceattas from Richborough (as against 3 pennies of the 8th-9th centuries). In 1922-39, during intensive excavation within the fort (TR 325162) 7 more sceattas were found, as well as 7-8th-century

pennies, illustrating a shift in relative importance from Reculver to Richborough during the second half of the century, which may be compared with the similar shift from Domburg to Dorestad. Rigold 1968 gives details of the Anglo-Saxon coin-finds but includes a 'ghost' sceat based on a misplaced ticket. The excavated finds were all from the chapel-area or just N. or NW. of it and may be from graves.

- A** I. Type 2a, Al. 1.23 g.
ante 1850. Formerly A. F. Baldwin coll., ex Rolfe. *RRL*, 157. Rigold 1960 (illus.), 1966.
- A** II. Type 2a, A4 (imitative). 1.22 g. (Hill Type 74, pl. VII, 27).
1924-5. B.M. *Richb.* ii.
- C** III. Primary Runic, Rly (?)
1936? Shown at B.M. 21:I:1937 but not accessioned.
- J** IV. Type 72. 1.17 g.
1939 (surface). B.M. *Richb.* v (Hill 1953, pl. VII, 25).
- K** V. Type 52. 1.01 g.
1924-5. B.M. *Richb.* ii (Hill 1953, pl. VI, 10).
- N** VI. Type 41b (imitative?). 1.24 g.
1922-3. B.M. *Richb.* i; Metcalf 1974, 10 (illus.).
- O** VII, VIII. Type 38, 2 die-identical specimens. 1.18 g.; 1.00 g. 1924-5. B.M. *Richb.* ii. A 3rd specimen cited, *not* in Ashm. M., is probably erroneous. Pl. II, 33.
- V** IX. Type 7. 1.14 g.
ante 1842. Ashm. M., Evans bequest, ex Rolfe. *NC* iv (1841-2), 32, and fig. 3; *RRL*, 157; Baldwin Brown, iii, 93 (pl. VII, 6).

The specimen like Type 15 cited in Rigold 1968 is erroneous. The old ticket does not belong with it but was misplaced from IX.

RICHMOND, Y.

- Hospital of St. Nicholas (NZ 180010).
- Y** Abp. Egberht.
1832.
Gent. Mag., 1832, 304, 601; Metcalf 1960, 134.

ROCHESTER, K. R. small walled town; A-S see. Excavations by D. E. Williams, below S. bank of close (TQ 683743).

- L** Type 15a/14. 1.17 g., looks base or plated.
1976. Pl. II, 30.

ST. NEOTS, Hu (Ca).

- Priory, excavations by C. F. Tebbutt (TL 181603).

- E** Porcupine, 'plumed bird', J. 1.24 g.
1963.
Proc. Camb. A. S. lix (1966), 33ff.; Metcalf 1977. Pl. I, 12.

Salisbury, see Old Sarum.

SANDY, Bd, near.

Perhaps a grave-find, but *not* in the cemetery (TL 177487) cut by the railway in 1850.

- B** I, II. 2 of Type 27 (BIA, BIC, BID or BII?).
1897-.
NC, 3rd ser., xvii (1897), 248; Sotheby, 14:III:1898, lots 172, 174; Rigold 1960, 'Hoard V' is unwarranted and the association of Series A coins in the sale-catalogue fortuitous.

SARRE, K.

Excavation in cemetery (TR 261651), grave 226.

- Pa** I, II. Pada, P III 6, P III 7, II. 17.9 g.
1864. II formerly Mack coll.
Arch. Cant. vii (1868), 171; Rigold 1960 (both illus.).

SAXBY, Le.

In a cemetery, presumably Stapleford Park (SK 814193).

- N** Type 41a. *SCBI Hunter*, 127 illus. for comparison only.
Probably 1890-1.
Baldwin Brown, iii, 109; *ibid.*, iv, 777.

SEDGEBERROW, Wo.

Casual find (SP 02 39 app.).

- L** Type 18 ('Hwiccan' style). 0.96 g.
ca. 1938. Ashm. M.
Metcalf 1976a (pl. 12, 7).

SELSEY, Sx. A-S see.

I. From beach (SZ 872942 app. or 845930 app.).

- G** Type 3a. 1.05 g.
ante 1950. Ashm. M.

- J** II. Type 27, BIII. D. F. Allen cited a cast in B.M. (cf. *BMC* 140?).
ante 1941. Formerly E. Heron Allen coll.

— III. Type 11 (Frankish).
Hill 1951 ('this [or II?] previously cited as Type 3b').

SHAKENOAK, in Wilcote, Ox.

3 separate finds from excavations in R. villa (SP 372142), 1960ff.

- K** I. Type 32a. 0.94 g.
1967. Ashm. M.
Metcalf and Walker 1967, no. 29; *Shakenoak*, ii.

- L** II. Type 15a. 0.70 g.
1968-70. Ashm. M.
Oxoniensis, xxxv (1970), 106f.; *NC* 1976,
228-9; Metcalf 1976a (pl. 12, 12); *Shakenoak*,
iii.
- L** III. Type 15 or similar. 0.45 g. (chipped).
1971-2. Ashm. M.
NC 1976, 229; *Shakenoak*, iv.

SOUTH HAMPSHIRE.

4 coins, ex H. de S. Shortt coll., were ticketed 'ex Miss P. J. Gordon, Wyke Regis [near Weymouth], S. Hampshire find'. Typologically they could be from Southampton (v.i.), but a Wessex antiquary would seem more likely to have used the odd phrase 'S. Hampshire' for the strip S. of the New Forest ('Greater Bournemouth' to the Solent). Perhaps an unrecorded find here.

- E** I, II. Porcupines.
- H** III. Type 48. 0.78 g. IV. Type 49. 0.82 g.
Ashm. M.

SOUTHAMPTON.

A. Bitterne, R. Shore-fort (promontory fort), Clausentum, on E. bank of Itchen.
I. Within fort, W. part (SU 435132).

- V** Type 7.
1908.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. 2, xxii (1907-9), 376 (illus.).
II. Possibly Hogsmount (place-name now 'lost').
- H** Type 39.
1846-.
NC viii (1846), *Proc.*, 5.

B. Hamwic (Old Hampton). Middle-Saxon urban settlement, downstream on W. bank of Itchen.

The most productive urban site of the period. First finds (?) ca. 1780 (appropriate types, without provenance, e.g. in *SCBI Hunter*: perhaps from canal-bed, later occupied by railway); intensive brick-earth digging in New Gaol Field, 1825-55; building-excavations recorded down to ca. 1865, no doubt continued later; archaeological excavations, under various directors, 1946 to date. Topography of finds discussed by Addyman and Hill 1969 (with list of coins to 1968). Mid 19th-century finds recorded by Roach Smith in *CA* and by E. Kell in communications to *JBAA*, 1857-66. Unfortunately Kell's sealing-wax impressions, if they survived in the B.A.A. archives, were destroyed in the 1939 war, as was the documentation of the T. G. Barnett bequest to the B.M., whence a

'tradition' of provenances from Allen via Sutherland (?later 19th-century finds). The sites producing sceattas are (numbers from Addyman and Hill):

1, St. Mary's Church, 1838 (SU 425116) and the adjacent 24, 1969-70;

2, Gaol Field, 1825-55, and the adjacent 14, Clifford St., 1951, and 23, Bevois St., 1968-9 (SU 427121 app.);

5, 6, 7, 9 (possibly), St. Mary's Rd. area, ca. 1856-65 and 1941 (SU 424124 app.);

11, Kingsland, 1947-50 (SU 424120);

16, Cumberland St., 1960-3 (SU 427116) and the adjacent 26, Granville St., 1969 and 1973 (SU 428116) and (26a) Melbourne St., 1971 (SU 428118).

Hoards. Only 2 are well attested. The 'Barnett' group is uncertain; Allen, in a letter to C. H. V. Sutherland dated 29.XII.1936, cited Types 27b, 32a, 39, 48 and 49 (3 specimens) as forming 'a hoard or portions from it', but in a note written in 1941 he seems to have had misgivings about the 'hoard (if it is one in a true sense)'. The provenances are no doubt genuine, but here treated with the 'separate finds', suffixed 'Barnett'; mostly in B.M.

A. 'Box' Hoard. 11 coins, fresh, in a little box, reported by Kell.

- E, H, K, N, X, D?** Types: Porcupine; 39 (2); 49; 42 (2); 41; 31; R3 (?); 2 unidentified.
ante 1864. Site 2? Formerly Bradby coll.
Addyman and Hill 37, 38-49.

B. Kingsland Hoard. 23 coins, corroded.

- H** Types: 49 (20), 39 (3).
1947. Site 11, pit 15 (2 more, Type 49, in same pit). Southampton City M. Addyman and Hill 79 (with 80, 81).

Separate Finds (all since 1946 in Southampton City M.).

Local types:

- H** 49: Site 1, 1838 (1); Site 2, *ante* 1850 (1) (A and H 25); Site 6, *ante* 1862 (1, ?) (A and H 36); Barnett (3); Site 11, 1947 (2, v.s.); *ibid.*, 1948 (2), 1949 (2), 1950 (1) (A and H 79-85, 89); Site 14, 1951 (2), *ibid.*, 1968 (1) (A and H 91, 92, 97); Site 15, 1961 (1) (A and H 102); Site 16, 1962-3 (1) (A and H 94); Site 24, 1969 (1) (A and H 103). Total: 19.

- H** 39: Site 2 (1, perhaps up to 6) (CA); Barnett (1).

- H** 48: Barnett (1) (A and H 36, probably Type 49).

Over 20, mainly of these types, have been accessioned since A and H, to say nothing of more early finds, but the proportion of the types in this sample may be significant.

- A detailed die-analysis of Types 39 and 49, pointing to a large and complex issue, was made by Miss M. J. Jesson in 1970.
- Other types:
- A** 2a, A2/3. I. Reputed, Barnett, not 'hoard' (A and H 69).
- B** 27, BI. II. Barnett (A and H 70, 71).
- D** Frisian runic, R3. III. Site 24, 1969.
- E** Porcupines: IV. Site 2, *ante* 1850 (A and H 38); V. Site 26a, 1971, A; VI. *ibid.*, 1971, 'æthiliræd'. VII. Site 11, 1947, pit 20, with type 49.
- K** VIII. Type 32a. Barnett.
- S** IX. Type 47. Reputed provenance, formerly F. Elmore Jones colln.
- W** X. Site 26, 1968 (A and H, part II, pl. VII).
- X** XI. Site 26, 1968-9. 'Woden'/cross with terminal annulets.
- SOUTHEND-ON-SEA**, Ess. (Thorpe Bay).
Grave-find, accidental, in brickfield (TQ 922855).
- A, B, C** 8 coins (or perhaps 20?): A3 (Type 2a); BII (Type 27) (2); R1a (3); R1b (2). Analyses: Rigold 1960, 52-3.
1929. Southend M.
Rigold 1960 ('Hoard VI'), 5 runic coins *illus.*
- SOUTHWELL**, Nt. A-S minster-site.
From excavation by C. M. Daniels of R. villa E. of minster (SK 705538).
- ?** Type unknown: mislaid before any record was made.
1959.
Trans. Thoroton Soc. lxx (1966), 41; *inf.* C. M. Daniels.
- STAMFORD**, Li.
- T** Type 9. 0.89 g. (chipped).
ante 1913. Fitzw. M.
SCBI Fitzw., 248.
- STONE-NEXT-FAVERSHAM**, K.
From excavation by Ld. Fletcher and G. F. Meates of R. mausoleum converted to Christian chapel (TQ 993614).
- E** I. Porcupine, 'æthiliræd'. 1.31 g.
1971. B.M. Pl. I, 16.
- W** II. Type 54. 1.24 g.
1968. B.M. Pl. III, 48.
I. *Antiq. Jl.* lvii (1977), 69 (*illus.* pl. XVI);
II, *ibid.*, xlix (1969), 290-2 (*illus.* pl. LVIII).
- STOURMOUTH**, K.
Near church (TR 256629).
- K** Type 32a. 1.02 g.
- ca.* 1880. Canterbury M., ex Capt. Newington.
Rigold 1960 (*illus.*); Metcalf and Walker, 2 (*illus.*).
- SUFFOLK** (West?).
- Q** Type 64 or 65 (bird and tribrach).
ante 1885. Formerly E. J. Shepherd coll.
Cited by Evans, Cambridge hoard.
- SULLINGTON**, Sx.
(TQ 10 13 app.).
- E** Porcupine A: exceptional (?late) var. (*cf.* Dover). 1.10 g.
ante 1850. B.M.
Metcalf 1976b.
- TACKLEY**, Ox.
(SP 47 20 app.).
- X** Type 31.
ante 1937. Ashm. M., ex Evetts.
Metcalf 1976b.
- TEMPLE GUITING**, Gl.
Near A-S secondary burial in ditch of round barrow, Bevan's Quarry (SP 108286).
- U** Type 23e. 1.05 g.
1964. Gloucester M.
BNJ xxxiii (1964), 171; *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* lxxxiv (1967), 16ff.; *SCBI W. Country*, 243.
- Thanet, near and in. See Reculver. Ignore speculations as in Rigold 1960, p. 50: *cf.* Hougham.
- THETFORD**, Nf.
In chancel of early church under 'Red Castle' (TL 864830).
- R** R2, mature, 'wigræd'. 0.74 g.
1957. Norwich Castle M.
Rigold 1960. *Norfolk Arch.* xxxiv (1966-9), 119ff., 148. Pl. III, 38.
- Thorpe Bay, see Southend-on-Sea.
- TOTTERNHOE**, Bd.
Garden find (SP 983218).
- N** Type 41b.
1971. Manshead Arch. Soc., Dunstable.
Med. Arch. xvi (1972), 148; Metcalf 1974, no. 14 (*illus.*).
- WAKERING**, Ess.
From excavation of R. occupation-site (TQ 945880 app.).
- G** Type 3a.
1926. Southend M.
Jl. Roman Soc. xvi (1926), 230; Rigold 1960 (*illus.*).

WALBURY CAMP, nr. Inkpen, Brk. and vicinity.

Hill fort on Ridgeway.

8 finds, of which V and VII are stated by the finder of VIII to have come from 'approx. 2 miles from Walbury and about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile apart'. I-IV and VI are from the car-park (on or near the surface), and VIII may also be ('within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of camp... apparently washed out by heavy rains'). These may be from a scattered hoard. Entrance to fort at SU 370620.

- K** I. Type 42. 0.99 g.
1974. Ashm. M.
Metcalf 1974 (illus.).
- K** II. Type 42. 0.93 g.
1977. Reading M. Pl. II, 24.
- K** III. Type 52 var. 0.97 g.
1977. Ashm. M. Pl. II, 25.
- M** IV. Type 45. 0.91 g.
1977. Ashm. M. Pl. II, 31.
- N** V. Type 41b.
1972. Private ownership. Pl. II, 32.
- N** VI. Type 41b. 1.18 g.
1972. Hampshire County M.
Metcalf 1974 (illus.).
- U** VII. Type 23c, 'bird and branch' imitation.
1974. Private ownership.
Cf. *BMC* 115 (different dies). Pl. III, 44.
- U** VIII. Unpublished type, with rev. 'archer'.
1.13 g.
1975. Ashm. M. Pl. III, 45.

WAREHAM, Do.

Type 24a or b, Frankish or imitation (cf. Aston Rowant).

- F** 1948.
R. P. Mack reported coin like *BMC* 118 found at Wareham 31:V:1948.

WESTERDALE, Y.

Westerdale Moor (NZ 640026), remote from any known track.

- E** Porcupine C, Frisian.
1957.
Yorks. Arch. J. xli (1966), 566-7.

WEST STOW, SE.

SE. corner of parish (TL 830703); not A-S village.

- X** Type 31 or insular imitation. 0.86 g.
1972.
Inf. S. West. Pl. III, 50.

WEYMOUTH, Do (dubious).

Found on a Roman pavement, Newberry Terrace; given to Dorchester M., 1902, by

Dr. H. Coley March. Might be any of those in the Museum (see Dorchester), or (more probably?) a 'barbarous FEL. TEMP', ticketed as a sceat (1.00 g.). Inf. R. N. R. Peers, L. Keene. *Proc. Dorset. N.H. Arch. Soc.*, xxiv (1903), 39.

WHARRAM PERCY, Y. Deserted med. village, Mid-Saxon origin.

I. Churchyard (SE 858642).

- Y** Eadberht.
1964.
Med. Arch. ix (1965), 187.
- II. N manorial enclosure, in *Grubenhaus* (SE 860646).
- Y** Eadberht.
1975.

WHITBY, Y. A-S minster-site.

17 sceattas, and a further 12 named, Northumbrian ones, from inadequately recorded excavations, 1920-8, in the area immediately N. of the later abbey church (NZ 493112). All in B.M.; 10 of the 17 are listed (and 3 illus.) in Hill 1953, but there are 7 more, hitherto unpublished. *Archaeologia*, lxxxix (1943), 85-6; R. J. Cramp, 'Analysis of the finds register and location plan of Whitby Abbey', *The Archaeology of A-S England*, ed. D. M. Wilson (1976), 453-7.

- BZ** I. Type 29. 0.83 g. Pl. I, 6.
- C** II. R2, early; obv. same die as *BMC* 33; 0.71 g. Pl. I, 8.
- D** III. Frisian runic, rough, but looks fairly good silver; 0.47 g. (broken). IV. Cross in ring/standard; akin to type 8; 1.08 g.
- E** V. Porcupine, D. 1.13 g.; Metcalf 1966, pl. XVI, 30.
- VI. ditto, cf. *BMC* 67; 0.82 g.; Metcalf, pl. XVI, 48. VII. ditto, G; 1.17 g. Pl. I, 13.
- G** VIII. Type 3a, rough, but cf. *BMC* 51; 0.71 g. Pl. I, 18.
- H** IX. Type 49/48, imitation, lumpish style; 1.02 g.; Hill 1953, pl. VI, 22.
- J** X. Type 27, BIIIb. 0.83 g. Pl. II, 19.
- K** XI. Type 32a; 0.59 g.; Hill 1953, pl. VI, 7; Metcalf and Walker 1967, 35 (illus.).
- L** XII. Type 18, cf. *BMC* 101; 0.65 g. Pl. II, 28.
- XIII. Type 18/34, imitation, shallow style; 0.87 g.; Hill 1953, pl. VI, 15.
- N?** XIV. Type 23a or 41b/23c imitation (dragon — not type 40); 0.84 g.; Hill 1953, pl. VI, 20.
- Q** XV. Type 44 var.; 0.85 g.; Hill 1953, pl. VI, 36.
- ?** XVI-XVII. Corroded and unidentifiable.

- Y** XVIII-XXVI. Eadberht. Pl. III, 53. XXVII. Eadberht with Ecgberht. XXVIII-XXIX. Aldfrith.
- WICKEN BONHUNT**, Ess.
Deserted med. village site of Bonhunt (TL 511333).
- J** Type 27, BIIIc. 1.39 g.?
1969.
Inf. B. Hooper and K. Wade.
- Wilcote, near Witney, see Shakenoak.
- WINCHESTER**
Only 1 (!) from extensive recent excavations.
I. From excavations by M. Biddle.
- E** Porcupine, A.
1965. 1.17 g.
C. E. Blunt and M. Dolley, in *BNJ* xlvii, pp. 135-8 (illus.).
II. 'Near Winchester'.
- K/R?** Wolf-serpent/cross with terminal annulets.
1971.
Inf. P. Mitchell. Pl. II, 26.
- H or W** III. Type 54 (?), or 39, which suits the rev. better (?).
Mid 19th century.
From description of a drawing by Roach Smith, which cannot now be found, among A. J. Evans MSS. in Ashm. M.: 'Half-length figure with staff/Decorated cross with annulets between arms.'
- WINTERINGHAM**, Li (Humberside).
2 garden finds (SE 934223), probably associated.
- J** I. Type 27, BIIIb, plated counterfeit. 0.87 g.
ante 1949. Scunthorpe M.
Metcalf 1977 (Sc. 1).
- J** II. Type 37, imitation (?). 0.99 g.
ante 1949. Scunthorpe M. As I (Sc. 2).
H. Dudley, *Early Days in North-West Lincolnshire*, 1949, gives exact findspot; Metcalf, 1976b, p. 13.
- WOLLASTON**, Np.
(SP 910632.)
- C** Primary Runic, R1x, early, good Ag. 'epa'.
0.97 g.
1967-.
Inf. A. E. Rollings, letter 9:IV: 1967. Pl. I, 7.
- WOODBIDGE**, Sf.
4 coins, sold together (Glendining: 1:VIII:1934, lot 44), which have been unwarrantedly treated as a hoard, and a 5th, like the rest, in L. A. Lawrence coll., which may have been substituted for one of them. It is safer to treat them as separate finds (TM 27 49 app.).
- B** I. Type 27, B1 (compared with *BMC* 131).
Lawrence, lot 193a.
- BZ** II. Type 29b, derivative of Ser. B. Type 27.
- C** III. R1 (?) Description suggests good early R1y, as *BMC* 48.
Lawrence, lot 193c.
- J** IV. Type 37, 'plated'.
Lawrence, lot 193d.
- R** V. Secondary Runic, R2 'spi', obv. die same as *BMC* 33. 0.86 g.
ante 1934. R. W. H. Erskine coll., ex Lawrence.
Lawrence, lot 193b; Hill 1953, p. 106.
- WOOTTON BASSETT**, Wi, near.
Find previously stated to have been 'near Oxford'; probably confused with another. See Oxford.
- K** Type 42. 0.94 g.
ca. 1850. Formerly Mack coll., pedigree to Lord Londesborough.
SCBI Mack 353; *CA* ii, 168; Metcalf and Walker 1967, no. 25; Metcalf 1976b.
- WORCESTER**.
91 High St. (SO 855540).
- E** Porcupine, G. 0.80 g.
1964. Worcester City M.
SCBI Midlands, 65: *Trans. Worcs. Arch. Soc.* (1968-9), 106-15.
- WRAYSBURY**, Bk.
From excavations, Wraybury Manor Farm (SU 998745).
- B** Type 27, BII, cf. BII, 7. 1.22 g.
1975. Wraybury Hist. Group.
Inf. V. Marchant.
- WROTHAM**, K.
Grave-find, Quince Cottage, 200 m. N. of main crossroads (TQ 616597).
ante 1958. Maidstone M. Both coins pierced.
- S** I. Type 47. 0.34 g. Pl. III, 42.
- T** II. Type 9, 'LEV'/Porcupine. 0.90 g. Pl. III, 43.
- YORK**.
A. Single describable sceattas, not of the inscribed, royal series.
I. Gillygate excavations (SE 602524).
- B** Type 27, BII, cf. BII, 10. 1.04 g., corroded.
1972. York Archaeol. Trust.
Inf. C. H. M. Clarke and Miss E. Pirie. Pl. I, 5.

- J** II. Cf. Type 37. Not associated with the 3 thrymsas reported on the same occasion. 1846. *NC* ix (1846-7), *Proc.*, 10; Metcalf 1960, no. 59; *SCBI Yorks*, p. 117.
- Q** III. Bust r., with cross/quadruped, stentant regardant, tail recurved between legs. 0.79 g. 1885. Yorkshire M (missing). *YPS* 1913, 33, and pl. VIII, 79. *SCBI Yorks*, p. 117. Pl. III, 37.
- Q** IV, cf. Type 35, head r./bird. 0.75 g. 1886. Yorkshire M (missing). *YPS* 1913, 33, and pl. V, 49. *SCBI Yorks*, p. 117. Pl. II, 35.
- Q** V. Ebor Brewery excavations (SE 607521). Bust r. with cross/beast passant l. 0.95 g. cf. *BMC* 165. 1973. York Archaeol. Trust. Inf. C. H. M. Clarke.
- B. Inscribed, royal series. Sites: 1, Gas Works, 1881 (SE 608524); 2, The Mount, 1888 (SE 595512); 3, Walmgate, 1892 (SE 608515); 4, Ebor Brewery, 1973-4 (SE 607521); 5, Cattle Market, 1973 (SE 608512); 6, Bishopshill-Skeldergate, 1975 (SE 603513); 7, 'Roman Fortress', 1928 (SE 604525 app.).
- Y** Eadberht: Site 1 (1), *SCBI Yorks*, xxxix, 1; Site 3 (1); Site 4 (4); Site 5 (2); Site 6 (1).
- Y** Eadberht and Abp. Ecgerht: Site 2 (1). *YPS* 1913, 73; *SCBI Yorks*, xxxix, 2.
- Y** Aelfwald: Site 7 (1). *YPS* 1913, 73; *SCBI Yorks*, xxxix, 3.
- C. Unidentifiable.
- VI. 'The Railway Hoard'. 30 'silver sticas' and a Roman gold coin. 1840. *SCBI Yorks*, xxxi.
- Ythanchester, see Bradwell on Sea.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A and H P. Addyman and D. H. Hill, *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, xxv (1969), 61-93.
- AJ *Antiquaries Journal*.
- AR T. Battely, *Antiquitates Rutupinae* (1711; 1745).
- Baldwin Brown G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, 6 vols. (1903-37).
- BMC C. F. Keary, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, vol. i (1887).
- CA C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, 7 vols. (1848-80).
- CMLA Id., *Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities* (1854).
- Dolley and Strudwick R. H. M. Dolley and J. S. Strudwick, 'The provenances of the Anglo-Saxon coins recorded in the ... British Museum Catalogue', *BNJ* 1955-7, 26-59.
- Hill 1951 P. V. Hill, 'The "standard" and "London" series of Anglo-Saxon sceattas', *BNJ* xxvi (1949-51), 251-79.
- Hill 1952 Id., 'The animal, "Anglo-Merovingian", and miscellaneous series of Anglo-Saxon sceattas', *BNJ* xxvii (1952-4), 1-38.
- Hill 1953 Id., 'Uncatalogued sceattas in the national and other collections', *NC* 6. xiii (1953), 92-114.
- JBAA *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.
- Meaney 1964 A. L. S. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (1964).
- Metcalf 1960 D. M. Metcalf, 'Some finds of medieval coins from Scotland and the north of England', *BNJ* xxx (1960-1), 88-123.
- Metcalf 1965 Id., 'An eighth-century find at Banbury', *Oxoniensia* xxix/xxx (1965), 193-4.
- Metcalf 1966 Id., 'A stylistic analysis of the "porcupine" sceattas', *NC* 7. vi (1966), 179-205.
- Metcalf 1972 Id., 'The "bird and branch" sceattas in the light of a find from Abingdon', *Oxoniensia*, xxxvii (1972), 51-65.
- Metcalf 1974 Id., 'Sceattas found at the iron-age hill fort of Walbury Camp', *BNJ* xlv (1974), 1-12.
- Metcalf 1976a Id., 'Sceattas from the territory of the Hwicce', *NC* 7. xvi (1976), 64-74.
- Metcalf 1976b Id., 'Twelve notes on sceatta finds', *BNJ* xlvi (1976), 1-18.
- Metcalf, Merrick, and Hamblin 1968 D. M. Metcalf, J. M. Merrick, and L. K. Hamblin, *Studies in the Composition of Early Medieval Coins* (1968).

- Metcalf and Walker 1967 D. M. Metcalf and D. R. Walker, 'The "wolf" sceattas', *BNJ* xxxvi (1967), 11-28.
NC *Numismatic Chronicle*.
Richb. J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough*, 5 vols. (1926-68).
 Rigold 1960 S. E. Rigold, 'The two primary series of sceattas', *BNJ* xxx (1960-1), 6-53.
 Rigold 1966 Id., 'Id., Addenda and corrigenda', *BNJ* xxxv (1966), 1-6.
 Rigold 1968 Id., 'The post-Roman coins' in *Richb.*, v (1968), 217-23.
RRL C. Roach Smith, *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne* (1850).
SCBI *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*.
 Seaby *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*.
Shakenoak A. C. C. Brodribb, A. R. Hands, and D. R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak*, 3 vols., 1968-72.
 Sutherland C. H. V. Sutherland, 'Anglo-Saxon sceattas in England: their origin, chronology, and distribution', *NC* 6. ii (1942), 42-70.
VCH *Victoria County Histories*.
 WR R. Wither and J. Ryall, *Twelve Plates of English Coins* (1756).
 YPS *Yorkshire Philosophical Society*.

KEY TO PLATES

1 A	Castor	28 L	Whitby XII
2 BX	Mucking	29 L	Cosham
3 BX	Mucking	30 L	Rochester
4 BX	Mucking	31 M	Walbury Camp IV
5 B	York I (Gillygate)	32 N	Walbury Camp V
6 BZ	Whitby I	33 O	Richborough VII/VIII
7 C	Wollaston	34 Q	Lakenheath II (obv.)
8 C	Whitby II	35 Q	York IV
9 D	Cambridge III	36 Q	Lakenheath III
10 D	Birchington	37 Q	York
11 D	Colchester	38 R	Thetford
12 E	St. Neots	39 R	Norwich III
13 E	Whitby, var. G	40 R	Deptford
14 E	Reculver XIII	41 R	North Elmham II
15 E	Dover	42 S	Wrotham I
16 E	Stone I (obv.)	43 T	Wrotham II
17 G	Pyecombe I	44 U	Walbury VII
18 G	Whitby VIII	45 U	Walbury VIII
19 J	Whitby X	46 U	Jarrow I
20 J	North Elmham I	47 V	Canterbury IV
21 J	Repton	48 W	Stone II
22 K	Hoo	49 W	Milton Regis
23 K	Reculver XXIV	50 X	West Stow
24 K	Walbury Camp II	51 Y	Piercebridge
25 K	Walbury Camp III	52 Y	Jarrow II
26 K	Winchester	53 Y	Whitby (rev.)
27 K	Lakenheath I	54 Y	Caistor-on-the-Wolds





19



20



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49



50



51



52



53



54



THE REGIONAL PATTERN OF DIE-CUTTING EXHIBITED BY THE *FIRST HAND* PENNIES OF ÆTHELRÆD II PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

MICHAEL DOLLEY AND TUUKKA TALVIO

IN the British Museum in 1975 there were 165 of the so-called *First Hand* pennies of Æthelræd II (*BMC* ii.a: Brooke 2 (undifferentiated from *Second Hand*): Hild. B.1: North 766: Seaby 664 etc.). The type is one clearly introduced very early in the reign, probably at Michaelmas 979, and is thought to have been superseded six years later by the *Second Hand* issue. Whereas the dies for *Second Hand* are for practical purposes uniform and seem all to emanate from a single centre, in *First Hand* it is no less obvious that the dies both were engraved at, and were distributed from, a number of regional centres. In this respect *First Hand* continues and even intensifies before arresting a tendency away from centralization progressively discernible on the coins of Edward the Martyr and on those of the so-called *First Small Cross* issue of Æthelræd himself. The purpose of this present and very provisional note is not to essay a definitive study of the *First Hand* issue—that is something that will have to await publication, now happily beginning, of the Stockholm material—but simply to offer to our fellow-workers in the field of later Anglo-Saxon numismatics a few comments arising out of a couple of days intensive study of the material that happens to survive in the English National Collection.

We may begin with a skeletal catalogue of the coins themselves. In the first column appears a running number, and in the second and third the names of the mint and moneyer. The fourth column is given over to a note of the *BMC* number—where appropriate—and the fifth to the year of the coin's acquisition, while in the sixth there is noted any specific hoard-provenance. Finally there is a coded reference to the style of the individual coin, and an explanation of these references will be given later in this note where the different styles are distinguished and discussed.

1	BATH	Æthelsige	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Sb/a
2	BEDFORD	Oswi	11	pre-1838		EA
3	BRIDPORT	Wine	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sa
4	CAMBRIDGE	Hunstan	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	EA
5	CAMBRIDGE	Hunstan	—	1947		EA
6	CANTERBURY	Boia	16	1802		SE
7	CANTERBURY	Boia	17	1794		Sb
8	CANTERBURY	Boia	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	SE
9	CANTERBURY	Eadwold	18	1856		Sb
10	CANTERBURY	Eadwold	19	pre-1838		Sb
11	CANTERBURY	Lifing	20	1850		SE
12	CANTERBURY	—	—	1956		SE/Sa
13	CANTERBURY	Wine	—	1896†		Sa
† The obverse legend has been tooled (? by White) so as to begin EADEARD						
14	CHESTER	Ælfstan	—	1920	1914 Chester Find	NW
15	CHESTER	Eadric	—	1915	'Sweden'	Ma

16	CRICKLADE	Æthestan	—	1971		Sa
17	DERBY	Guner	—	1958		Na
18	DERBY	Osulf	—	1915	'Sweden'	Ma
19	EXETER	Ælfstan	—	1913		Sa
20	EXETER	Byrhferth	—	1935		Sa
21	EXETER	Godwine	—	1960		Sb/a
22	EXETER	Luda	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb
23	EXETER	Tuna	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb
24	EXETER	Tuna	—	1935		Sb
25	GLOUCESTER	Leofsige	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb
26	HEREFORD	Godman	—	1959		Sb/a
27	HUNTINGDON	Ælfric	—	1956		EA
28	HUNTINGDON	Wulfgar	117	pre-1838		EA
29	IPSWICH	Leofman	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	EA
30	IPSWICH	Leofman	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	EA
31	IPSWICH	Leofman	—	1922		EA
32	IPSWICH	Leofman	—	1944		EA
33	IPSWICH	Leofric	—	1918		EA
34	IPSWICH	Leofric	—	1944		EA
35	IPSWICH	Osulf	—	1928	'Scandinavia'	EA
36	IPSWICH	Osulf	—	1944		EA
37	IPSWICH	Waltferth	99	1794		EA
38	IPSWICH	Waltferth	100	1794		EA
39	IPSWICH	Waltferth	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	EA
40	IPSWICH	Waltferth	—	1944		EA
41	IPSWICH	Waltferth	—	1963	1863 Ipswich Find	EA
N.B. Nos. 33 and 34 are die-duplicates, while nos. 35 and 36 share an obverse and nos. 29 and 30 a reverse die respectively						
42	LAUNCESTON	Brun	—	1896		Sa
43	LEICESTER	Dun	—	1960		Mb
44	LEWES	Theodgar†	127	pre-1838		Sb
† The moneyer of no. 44 was earlier read as EADGAR—the correction is Drs. G. van der Meer's						
45	LEWES	Theodgar	—	1963	'Scandinavia'	Early Sa/SE?
46	LINCOLN	Æscman	—	1771		Mb
47	LINCOLN	Færthen	—	1937		Mb
48	LINCOLN	Goding	—	1915	'Sweden'	Na
49	LINCOLN	Rodbert	156	1793		Mb
50	LINCOLN	Unbegn	157	1794		Mb
51	LONDON	Ælfgar	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Sa
52	LONDON	Ælfgar	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Sb/a
53	LONDON	Ælfwine	189	1794		Sa
54	LONDON	Ælfwine	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Sa
55	LONDON	Ælfwine	—	1947		Sb
56	LONDON	Ælfwold	—	1920	1914 Chester Find	Early Sa
57	LONDON	Æthe(l)red	190	pre-1838		Sb
58	LONDON	Æthe(l)red	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb/a
59	LONDON	Æthe(l)red	—	1963	1863 Ipswich Find	Sa
60	LONDON	Æthestan	—	1958		Sa
61	LONDON	Beornwulf	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Sb
62	LONDON	Byrhsige	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb
63	LONDON	Cynsige	191	1841		Sb/a
64	LONDON	Cynsige	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb/a
65	LONDON	Ealhstan	192	1794		Sb/a
66	LONDON	Ealhstan	193	1886		Sb/a
67	LONDON	Ealhstan	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb/a
68	LONDON	God(a)	194	pre-1838		Sb/a
69	LONDON	God(a)	—	1920	1914 Chester Find	Sa
70	LONDON	Godwine	—	1894	1841 Mullingar Find	Sa
71	LONDON	Godwine	—	1960		Early Sa
72	LONDON	Godwine	—	1963	1863 Ipswich Find	Early Sa
73	LONDON	L(e)ofric	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Sb

74	LONDON	L(e)ofric	—	1956	Sb
75	LONDON	Leofstan	195	1817	Sb/a
76	LONDON	Osulf	196	1848	Sb
77	LONDON	Sibwine	—	1928	Sb/a
78	LONDON	Wulfmar	197	1794	Sb
79	LONDON	Wulfric	198	1794	Sb/a
80	LONDON	Wulfstan	199	1794	Sb/a
81	LONDON	Wynsige	—	1960	Sa

N.B. Nos. 65 and 66 are die-duplicates, while nos. 71 and 72 are from the same obverse die

82	LYDFORD	Æthered	281	1877	Sa
83	LYDFORD	Æthered	—	1915	Sa

N.B. No. 82 was earlier attributed to London

84	NORTHAMPTON ¹	Leofsige	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Sa
85	NORTHAMPTON ¹	Lyfinc	—	1913		Sb
86	NORWICH	Brantinc	—	1935		EA
87	NORWICH	Folceard	289	1753		EA
88	NORWICH	Livinc	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	EA
89	NORWICH	Manning	290	1843	? 1841 Mullingar Find	EA
90	NORWICH	Manning	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	EA
91	ROCHESTER	Eadelm	—	1915		SE
92	ROCHESTER	Sidewine	299	pre-1838		SE
93	ROCHESTER	Sidewine	300	1817		Sb
94	SHAFTESBURY	Æthestan	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb/a
95	SHREWSBURY	Leofælm	312	1850		Mb
96	SOUTHAMPTON	Æthelweard	—	1899		Sb
97	SOUTHAMPTON	Æthelweard	—	1960		Sa
98	SOUTHAMPTON	Isege	—	1960		Sa

N.B. On nos. 96 and 98 the mint-signature is HAMFIC and on no. 97 the ambiguous HAM

99	STAMFORD	Ælfwald	326	pre-1838		Mb
100	STAMFORD	Living	—	1958		Mb
101	STAMFORD	Wulstan	321	pre-1838		Mb
102	STAMFORD	Wulstan	322	pre-1838		Mb
103	STAMFORD	Wulstan	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Mb

N.B. No. 99 is a coin previously attributed to Stanwick.² It is, however, from the same obverse die as nos. 102 and 103

104	THETFORD	Æ(a)dgār	387	pre-1838		EA
105	THETFORD	Æ(a)dgār	—	1944		EA
106	THETFORD	Æ(a)dgār	—	1944		EA
107	THETFORD	Æ(a)dgār	—	1944		EA
108	THETFORD	Osferth	—	1913		EA
109	THETFORD	Osferth	—	1944		EA
110	THETFORD	Osferth	—	1944		EA
111	THETFORD	Osferth	—	1944		EA
112	THETFORD	Osferth	—	1944		EA
113	THETFORD	Osferth	—	1955		EA
114	THETFORD	Spyrling	388	1794		EA
115	THETFORD	Spyrling	—	1944		EA
116	THETFORD	Spyrling	—	1944		EA
117	THETFORD	Spyrling	—	1944		EA
118	THETFORD	Spyrling	—	1944		EA

N.B. Nos. 104 and 105, 108 and 113, and 111 and 112 are pairs of die-duplicates, while nos. 108 and 113 also share an obverse die with no. 109

119	TORKSEY	Thurcetel	335	pre-1838		Mb
120	TOTNES	Dodda	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb/a
121	TOTNES	Manna	333	pre-1838		Sb/a
122	WALLINGFORD	Byrhtic	—	1962		Sa
123	WAREHAM	Wulfric	342	1794		Sa

¹ For the division between Northampton and Southampton of coins of this reign reading HAM(TVN) see *BNJ* xxxv (1965), pp. 25-33.
² Cf. *BNJ* xxviii, i (1955), p. 57.

REGIONAL PATTERN OF DIE-CUTTING

124	WAREHAM	Wulfrie	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sa
125	WARWICK	Osmaer	—	1960		Sa
126	WATCHET	Sigeric	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sa
127	WILTON	Eadwine	—	1928	'Scandinavia'	Sa
128	WILTON	Osbern	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sa
129	WILTON	Sæwine	—	1958		Sb/a
130	WINCHESTER	Beorhtnoth	356	1794		Sb
131	WINCHESTER	Eadsige	357	1794		Sb/a
132	WINCHESTER	Frythemund	358	pre-1838		Sa
133	WINCHESTER	Frythemund	—	1915		Sa
134	WINCHESTER	Ingelri	359	1794		Sa
135	WINCHESTER	Toca	—	1915	'Sweden'	Sb
136	WINCHESTER	Wulfstan	360	pre-1838		Sb
137	WORCESTER	Mæn	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Mb
138	WORCESTER	Martin	—	1960		Mb
139	YORK	Eilaf	73	1794		Nb
140	YORK	Fællan	74	1856		Nb
141	YORK	Farman	—	1920	1914 Chester Find	Nb
142	YORK	Fastulf	75	1802		Na
143	YORK	Fastulf	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Nb
144	YORK	Frostulf	—	1958		Nb
145	YORK	(Hu)ndulf	76	1851	1830 Inchkenneth Find	Nb/a
146	YORK	Insulf	—	1958		Mb/Nb
147	YORK	Oda	77	1753		Nb/Mb
148	YORK	Oda	—	1915	'Sweden'	Nb
149	YORK	Scadwine (?)	—	1956		Na
150	YORK	Thorcytel	—	1947		Na
151	YORK	Thorstan	—	1922		Nb
152	YORK	Tumme	78	pre-1838		Nb
153	YORK	Wineman	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	Nb/Mb

N.B. Nos. 147 and 148 are from the same obverse die

154	'Brygin/Niwan'	Æthestan (N)	—	1971		Sa
155	UNCERTAIN MINT and moneyer	—	—	1955		?

This coin (*ex* Lockett, lot 668) has been attributed to Thetford but if of that mint would be of quite anomalous style. The legends are largely illegible, but it could be that we are confronted with a Thetford overstrike on a coin of another mint

VARIETY WITH THE TRANSPOSITION OF THE *ALPHA* AND *OMEGA* OF THE REVERSE TYPE

(*BMC* ii.b: Hild. B.I.c: North 766: Seaby 664—in the last cases the variety is not distinguished)

156	IPSWICH	Wilbert	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	EA
157	THETFORD	Eadgar	—	1896		EA
158	WINCHESTER	Eadsig	—	1955		Sa

VARIETY WITH LEFT-FACING BUST

(*BMC* ii: Hild. B.I.a: North 767: Seaby —)

159	CANTERBURY	Boia	—	1915	1863 Ipswich Find	SE(L)
160	CHESTER	Ælfstan	—	1894	1841 Mullingar Find	NW(L)Ma
161	CHESTER	Leomman	—	1894	1841 Mullingar Find	NW(L)
162	CHESTER	Leomman	—	1920	1914 Chester Find	NW(L)
163	LYMNE	Lefwine	—	1963	1863 Ipswich Find	SE(L)Sa?
164	SHREWSBURY	Ævic	—	1920	1914 Chester Find	NW(L)Mb
165	SHREWSBURY	Leofvelm	—	1960		NW(L)

N.B. Nos. 161 and 162 are from the same pair of dies. Coins of this variety have often been misdescribed as mules (*cf.* *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 37 and 38), and this is perhaps the place to list three further coins to some extent critical for any correct ordering of the series

FIRST SMALL CROSS/FIRST HAND MULE

166 SOUTHAMPTON Isegeſ — 1896 -/Sa

N.B. The coin (*ex* Montagu 772) was known at least as early as the opening of the nineteenth century.³ The mint-signature is the unambiguous HAMFC

The following coin is one from an altered *First Hand* obverse die, and was noted by Mr. J. D. Brand a whole decade ago.⁴

SECOND HAND PENNY FROM ALTERED FIRST HAND OBVERSE DIE

167 ROCHESTER Sidewine — 1935 Sb/-

Surprisingly, perhaps, only one further example of this malpractice appears since to have been recorded:

SECOND HAND PENNY FROM ALTERED FIRST HAND DIES

168 CANTERBURY Leofric — 1894 1841 Mullingar Find Anom./Sa

The absence of true *First Hand* / *Second Hand* mules is, of course, something that for too long has been disregarded. Clearly the transition between the two issues had an element of the extraordinary if not the traumatic

The foregoing catalogue prompts the following reflections:

GROWTH OF THE COLLECTION

Already early in the nineteenth century the British Museum had a total of 38 coins distributed between 16 mints. More than a third of these derived from the Hodsoll cabinet, and from the overall pattern it is clear that no later than the early part of the eighteenth century there must have been one major hoard from north-eastern England including and perhaps even ending with a significant element of coins of *First Hand* type. The hypothesis of one such find has in fact already been postulated on the basis of the surprising number of *First Small Cross* pennies of Æthelræd II from mints in that area to which there attach eighteenth-century provenances.⁵ By the time that the second volume of the *British Museum Catalogue* was published in 1893, the number of *First Hand* coins still was only 44, the number of mints represented having risen only to 18. Over the next few years, however, a small but select group of purchases in the London saleroom, most notably at the dispersal of the Chapman and Montagu cabinets, exhibited considerable percipience, but it was the generosity of the American John Pierpont Morgan Jun. in giving the Museum the opportunity of acquiring on very favourable terms the cream of Sir John Evans's cabinet that put the English National Collection on an entirely new footing. After 1915 the total of *First Hand* coins stood at 102, and the number of mints represented had risen almost in proportion to 32. In the 1920s a few critical pieces were acquired from the 1914 Chester hoard, but the next really significant accession of material came in 1944 with the bequest by W. A. Brooke of no fewer than 15 *First Hand* coins of the Ipswich (4) and Thetford (11) mints.⁶ During the 1950s and early 1960s there was a new phase of deliberate and selective acquisition as a result of which a further 28 coins were added to the collection, five further mints now being represented for the first time. The dispersal in the London saleroom of the great Lockett cabinet provided, of course, opportunities unlikely ever again to be repeated, but mention must be made with affection as well as gratitude of such names as those of Messrs. C. E. Blunt, E. G. Hillyer, F. Elmore-Jones, H. R. Mossop, and H. Schneider. More

³ Cf. Ruding, Pl. D, 36.

⁵ *BNJ* xxxvi (1967), pp. 55-8.

⁴ *NC* 1965, p. 182.

⁶ *NC* 1949, pp. 189-236.

recently still gifts by Mr. Elmore-Jones of an exceptionally rare coin of Cricklade and of a penny of 'Niwan' mean that today the British Museum can boast 165 *First Hand* coins from a total of 39 mints. The corresponding figures for the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals at Copenhagen are 70 and 21, so that the English National Collection can be said here more than to compete, even if the Danish cabinet still scores heavily where properly documented hoard-provenances are concerned. The situation as regards the British Museum, then, can be seen as an essential quadrupling of the early nineteenth-century position, and especially should it be noted that still in 1893 the English National Collection did not possess a single example of the varieties with left-facing bust or transposed *alpha* and *omega* of which today there are no fewer than 10 specimens in the trays, all but one of them with impeccable, insular hoard-provenances.

THE HOARD-PROVENANCES

Finds with *First Hand* coins have not been of all that common occurrence where the Anglo-Celtic Isles are concerned. Even so, there are in the British Museum today a total of 36 pieces which seem certainly to derive from four insular hoards. Most critical of the four finds undoubtedly is the 1914 Pemberton's Parlour find from Chester,⁷ the source of 5 coins. This major discovery clearly was concealed very early in the currency of the *First Hand* type,⁸ and again the flavour of the find is strongly regional. Thanks to the scrupulous recording of provenance by Sir John Evans whose tickets remain a model of their kind, there are today at least 24 coins in the Museum trays, 6 of them from East Anglian mints, where the Ipswich provenance must appear certain. Concealed early in the currency of the succeeding *Second Hand* type is a much neglected find of 1841 from the mysterious 'Marl Valley' near Mullingar in Co. Westmeath, Ireland.⁹ It is the source of certainly 3 and perhaps 4 of the British Museum coins, and with a date of concealment in the later 980s must be thought particularly relevant to the whole problem of when and how the *Second Hand* issue was introduced. Finally there is the largely dispersed hoard which came to light c. 1830 on the Scottish island of Inch Kenneth,¹⁰ and which furnished the British Museum with a fragmentary coin of York. However, inasmuch as this hoard is one which appears to have been committed to the ground no earlier than the millennium, it cannot be said to possess special significance for our present inquiry.

THE DIFFERENT STYLES

Distinguished in the right-hand column of the catalogue that began this note are what we may perhaps term ten different styles of obverse and nine of reverse. Only in one or two cases can the obverse dies not be immediately so classified, and most of these on reconsideration appear to be early examples of the earlier of the two styles associated with Southern England. The code-letters adopted and the number of

⁷ *NC* 1920, pp. 141-65.

⁸ *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), pp. 34-8.

⁹ *BNJ* xxxv (1966), pp. 12-21.

¹⁰ *SCBI* Edinburgh, pp. xix and xxx-xxxi.

different obverse and reverse dies recorded are expanded and set out in the following table:

	<i>obverses</i>	<i>reverses</i>
EA = East Anglian	34	37
Ma = Midlands A	16	{ 3
Mb = Midlands B		{ 16
Na = Northern A	5	4
Nb = Northern B	11	9
NW = North-western	1	3
NW(L) = North-western with left-facing bust	4	
Sa = Southern A	33	57
Sb = Southern B	42	21
SE = South-eastern	6	7
SE(L) = South-eastern with left-facing bust	2	

A few of the more obvious criteria of each obverse and reverse follow, with illustration taken from one of the British Museum coins:

EA = East Anglian



FIG. 1

The 'V' drapery on the obverse is very distinctive, and one should also note the short, parallel ties to the diadem. The suffix of the ethnic is normally contracted α . On the reverse the 'cuff' is box-like, and in practice there is little risk of confusion with the more modelled drapery of Ma and the more geometric treatment of Nb. With more research it should be possible to establish a stylistic development within the issue, but this is not made easy by the absence of mules with other styles. Where the English National Collection is concerned, it is the sole style found at the following mints:

Bedford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Norwich, Thetford

and Norwich is perhaps the most likely centre where the dies may be supposed to have been cut.

Ma = Midlands A



FIG. 2

The critical difference lies in the treatment of the eye which is not contained in an elliptical frame, and also to be noted are the angled shoulder and curved lines of drapery. The suffix of the ethnic is variously contracted but only rarely extends as far as terminal 'X'. On the reverse the treatment of the drapery of the 'cuff' may be termed naturalistic, and is much less wooden than on the reverses of Nb and of EA. Where the British Museum collection is concerned, true coins only are known from the following mints:

Chester, Derby

and a mule with NW(L) from:

Chester.

The obverses are not at present readily distinguishable from their much more numerous counterparts in Mb, but the latter seem to flow out of the former, and it may be assumed that all were cut at one centre, and on the basis of the Mb coins this is likely to have been Lincoln.

Mb = Midlands B



FIG. 3

As already hinted, it is the reverse only that differentiates this apparently later variety which is struck to a notably lower weight-standard. There is no 'cuff', and the lower of the two arcs—or lowest where there are three—of the 'sky' pass *behind* the junction of the hand and wrist. Examples of true coins in the English National Collection are from the following mints:

Leicester, Lincoln, Shrewsbury, Stamford, Torksey, Worcester
while mules with NW(L) and Nb are known from:

Shrewsbury, York.

As we have seen, there is some reason to associate the cutting of the dies with Lincoln, and particularly relevant here must be the long run of coins of the Ma and Mb styles that are recorded on plates II, III, and CI of Henry Mossop's *Lincoln Mint*.

Na = Northern A



FIG. 4

The bust is large and the eye framed, while on the reverse the arcs of the 'sky' are generally well-formed, so that there is a superficial resemblance to Sa and Sb *infra*. On closer examination, however, the ethnic will be found to be differently abbreviated, while the bust is more obviously shouldered. The coins are 'heavy' and so belong relatively early in the issue. In the British Museum trays there are true coins from the following mints:

Derby, Lincoln, York

and a mule with Nb from:

York.

There can be little doubt that the dies were in fact cut at York, and it is likely that the individual was the same man who cut the dies for Nb.

Nb = *Northern B*



FIG. 5

These coins, generally later than those of Na but closely interrelated, have a smaller bust of similar style but with plunging drapery, and this is often set eccentrically in the field. The ethnic is usually fuller. On the reverse the arcs of the 'sky' are replaced by a rectilinear 'cuff' which often encloses a 'U' device. There are true coins in the British Museum only from one mint:

York

and it is the same with the mules with Na and Nb which again occur exclusively at:

York.

That the dies emanate from the northern metropolis must seem self-evident.

NW = *North-western*



FIG. 6

Only one obverse die appears to be known, but the style is so distinctive as well as competent, that the student would appear to be dealing with the product of an established atelier where production was abruptly terminated rather than with a 'sport' or other anomaly. The reverses are distinguished by pronounced denticulation

of the lower of the two arcs of the 'sky'. The mint of the true coin in the British Museum is:

Chester

and there is no mule. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the style represents Chester work interrupted by the cataclysm of the Viking descent on Wirral in the winter of 979/980.

NW(L) = North-western with left-facing bust



FIG. 7

The long, narrow left-facing bust with rounded drapery is quite distinct from that just described, and has affinities with Ma and Mb. The mints represented in the trays of the English National Collection are:

Chester, Shrewsbury

and by mules with Ma and Mb again:

Chester, Shrewsbury.

The totality of the evidence will have to be assembled before there can be finality, but we suspect that *NW(L)* despite its distribution in fact emanates from Lincoln.

Sa = Southern A



FIG. 8

The essential criteria of this extremely common obverse are a neat bust with almond-framed eye, severe drapery, a nose that is slightly *retroussé*, and the suffix of the ethnic ending $\sigma\chi$. On early coins the bust may be notably cruder. The reverse is distinguished by generally well-formed arcs, and there is *no* pellet or other symbol in the 'sky' above the wrist. In the British Museum trays there are examples of true coins from the following mints:

Bridport, Canterbury, Cricklade, Exeter, Launceston, London, Lydford, 'Niwan', Northampton, Southampton, Wallingford, Wareham, Warwick, Watchet, Wilton, Winchester

together with mules with Sb from:

Bath, Exeter, Hereford, London, Shaftesbury, Totnes, Wilton, Winchester
and with SE from:

Canterbury, Lewes.

For the moment it may seem an open question whether the centre for the cutting of the dies was London or Winchester, but our feeling is that the former is the more likely.

Sb = Southern B



FIG. 9

The bust is essentially the same but somewhat larger and the nose more aquiline but the real criterion of the obverses of these notably lighter coins is the contraction of the suffix of the ethnic which now takes the form $\sigma\chi$. On the reverse a pellet is added in the 'sky' above the wrist. Where the English National Collection is concerned, true coins are known from the following mints:

Canterbury, Exeter, Gloucester, Lewes, London, Northampton, Rochester,
Southampton, Winchester

and mules with Sa from:

Bath, Exeter, Hereford, London, Shaftesbury, Totnes, Wilton, Winchester.

The clearly 'metropolitan' die-cutter appears to have been retained to cut the dies of *Second Hand* and *Crux*, and again our suspicion is that the atelier was situated at London rather than Winchester.

SE = South-eastern



FIG. 10

The drapery is rounded, the head lower on the shoulders so as to seem almost neckless, and the ethnic variously contracted. On the reverse the arcs of the 'sky' are so shallow as to approximate to straight lines. In the British Museum trays there are examples of true coins only from:

Canterbury, Rochester

but mules with Sa from:

Canterbury, Lewes, Lymne.

That the dies were cut at Canterbury must seem almost certain.

SE(L) = *South-eastern with left-facing bust*



FIG. 11

The bust is the normal bust of SE reversed, and the reverses identical. In the English National Collection there is an example of the true coin from:

Canterbury

and a mule with Sa from:

Lymne.

Again the dies would seem to emanate from a centre at Canterbury.

PROVISIONAL ANALYSIS

The overall picture would seem clear enough. At the issue's inception a metropolitan atelier (London?) furnished dies to the whole of England south of the Thames Valley with the exception of the South-East. Other centres appear to have been functioning at Canterbury, Chester, Lincoln, York, and Norwich (?), but only the last was stable and had an exclusive monopoly for the supply of dies to East Anglia throughout the issue. The Canterbury and Chester ateliers appear to have disappeared early in the issue, and in the case of Chester there is an obvious occasion. The southern centre (London?) quietly absorbs the South-East and appears to have extended its influence into the southern Midlands, while there is no regular pattern where Mercia and Northumbria are concerned. Even at York and Lincoln there is exchange of styles, and particularly anomalous appears to be the position in the Severn Valley. The comments of an historian would be particularly valuable, but should perhaps be deferred until it has been possible to bring into consideration some at least of the extensive material available in other cabinets. What must seem very significant, however, is the extension within the issue of the influence of the southern atelier (London?) and to some extent this presages the utter uniformity imposed in *Second Hand*. The student may find significance, too, in the apparent tussle between York and Lincoln for the supply of dies to the rest of England, and presumably royal suppression of these ateliers may not be altogether unconnected with the failure of these two major mints to strike in *Second Hand*.

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POSTSCRIPT

In the course of a recent visit to London, one of the writers (M.D.) was kindly shown by Miss Archibald a further eight coins of *First Hand* type which—along with many others—are in the process of being added to the English National Collection as a consequence of the munificence of the late H. H. King Esq. The seven true coins may be listed by mint and classified by style as follows:

a. CHICHESTER, Heawulf	SE/Sa?	e. LEWES, Leofstan	Sa
b. DERBY, Osof	Nb	f. LEWES, Theodgar	Sb
c. IPSWICH, Waltferth	EA	g. TOTNES, Manna	Sb/a
d. LEWES, Leofstan	Sa		

The eighth coin is the unique *Second Hand/First Hand* mule ('the-wrong-way-round') of the Lewes mint by the moneyer Theodgar which employs what seems to be a Sa reverse. Even without this coin, however, the King benefaction still would have been notable for its addition of Chichester to the corpus of *First Hand* mints represented in the English National Collection.

AN UNNOTICED PARCEL FROM THE 1872 QUEEN VICTORIA STREET HOARD

OLIVER BURROWS

THE hoard generally known as the 'City' or Walbrook hoard (Inv. 255),¹ but more precisely as the Queen Victoria Street hoard,² is of particular importance to students of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage as probably the largest single find of coins of Edward the Confessor. It is therefore most unfortunate that great secrecy was observed both over its discovery and its subsequent dispersal. Even four years later (1876) Willet³ was still unable to give any details of the location of the find, or to make an accurate estimate of the total number of coins involved. It is clear that even with Sir John Evans's supplementary paper⁴ hundreds of coins went unrecorded. The purpose of the present note is therefore to draw the attention of numismatists to a neglected group of 183 coins which almost certainly derive from this hoard.

The coins in question appear as lots 219-39 in the sale catalogue of Mr. Arthur Briggs of Rawden, Leeds (Sotheby, 22:iii:1893). Briggs's collection was an extensive general one, indeed by far the largest sold at Sothebys during 1893. Including his numismatic library it comprised 832 lots, which, sold over four days, fetched a total of £2373. 9s. 0d.⁵ In addition to the English series which formed the backbone of the collection (244 lots), there were considerable numbers of Greek, Roman, Scottish, and foreign coins, English and foreign commemorative medals and war medals. In the English series the emphasis was on the post-Conquest period (175 lots), although the Anglo-Saxon portion (69 lots) also contained some rarities, such as two coins of Offa. But as the following table illustrates the collection was noticeably weak in the common eleventh-century types (excepting of course the present hoard coins), in comparison with the tenth-century types:

	<i>No. of coins</i>		<i>No. of coins</i>		<i>No. of coins</i>
Æthelstan	5	Eadgar	3	Harold I	1
Edmund	9	Edward the Martyr	0	Harthacnut	0
Eadred	13	Æthelred II	7	Edward the Confessor	183
Eadwig	13	Cnut	5	Harold II	1

¹ There is serious confusion of types in the Inventory record of this hoard. For *BMC* xi read ix and vice versa; for *BMC* xv read xiii; for *BMC* xvi read xiv; for *BMC* xvii read xv. There are also numerous minor errors among the coins recorded.

² The writer is at present engaged in a full reappraisal of the hoard which will detail the evidence for this provenance. It is based on a note preceding lot 254 in W. Allen's catalogue (Sotheby, 14:iii:1898) which refers to '... the find in Queen Victoria Street, Mansion House, London, in 1872'.

³ E. H. Willet, 'On a hoard of Saxon Pennies found in

the City of London in 1872', *NC* N.S. xvi (1876), 323 ff.

⁴ Sir John Evans, 'On a hoard of Saxon Pennies found in the City of London in 1872—Appendix', *NC*³ v (1885), 254 ff. Evans's parcel was said to number 580 coins. Only about 480 are listed in his report; the remaining 100 were presumably duplicates, although this is not stated. Thus, no reliable estimate of the numbers of each type or mint can now be obtained. Indeed, it is not even certain that Evans's parcel came from the same hoard as Willet's.

⁵ Annotated catalogue in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The exceptional number of coins of the Confessor leaves little doubt that one is here dealing with all or part of a considerable hoard (or even hoards), as indeed the cataloguer of Briggs's collection realized.⁶ The sale was a posthumous one, and it would appear that even if the provenance of these coins was known to Briggs, it was lost upon his death.

It is perhaps worth emphasizing at this point, that there is no direct evidence to indicate that the entire group derive from a single source. However, as shown below, the group has every appearance of coming from a single hoard; indeed, in view of the overall composition of the collection, it is most improbable that Briggs would have deliberately purchased any further coins of the Confessor after obtaining a sizeable hoard parcel. But it is possible that a few coins might have been acquired previously, or indeed, in later miscellaneous parcels. Even so, such purchases are unlikely to account for more than two or three coins, especially if it is accepted that the hoard parcel was obtained as early as 1872/3,⁷ twenty years prior to the appearance of the collection in its final catalogued form.

If the proposition that the Briggs parcel derived from the Queen Victoria Street hoard is accepted, there also arises the possibility that the parcel might also have contained a coin or two from outside the reign of the Confessor.⁸ However, clearly such a hypothesis is now beyond proof.

The lack of duplication (there are only two instances, both among the London Expanding Cross coins),⁹ suggests to the writer that the Briggs parcel does not represent a hoard in its entirety, but was either a selection from a larger hoard, or a hoard from which duplicates had been deliberately removed. With the former possibility in mind the chronological composition of Briggs's parcel was compared with that of other documented hoards of the same period.

In order to demonstrate convincingly that a parcel derives from a particular hoard it is necessary to show:

- (i) Similarity between the parcel and the hoard.
- (ii) Dissimilarity between the parcel and other hoards of the period (otherwise ambiguity arises).
- (iii) Dissimilarity between the parcel and a typical present-day sample of the coinage of the period. A hoard is most unlikely to consist of such a sample; any parcel which does so is almost certainly a modern collector's selection.¹⁰ This therefore provides a useful negative check.

⁶ Note following lot 219: 'This and the following lots of Edward the Confessor's pennies are in generally fine condition, and evidently form part of some hoard.'

⁷ There is no direct evidence of this. However, a parcel of the size and value of this one (the coins fetched £58. 10s. 0d. at Briggs's sale) would only be of interest to a relatively small number of serious collectors. But it does not appear in any of Sotheby's catalogues between 1872 and 1893. Nor, in view of the imbalance it produced in his collection, is it likely that Briggs would have acquired such a large single parcel through a dealer. The present writer therefore suspects that it was offered to Briggs in its entirety, and at an attractive price, shortly after its discovery in 1872. It will of course be remembered that considerable secrecy was observed during the dispersal of the hoard to prevent its disclosure to the

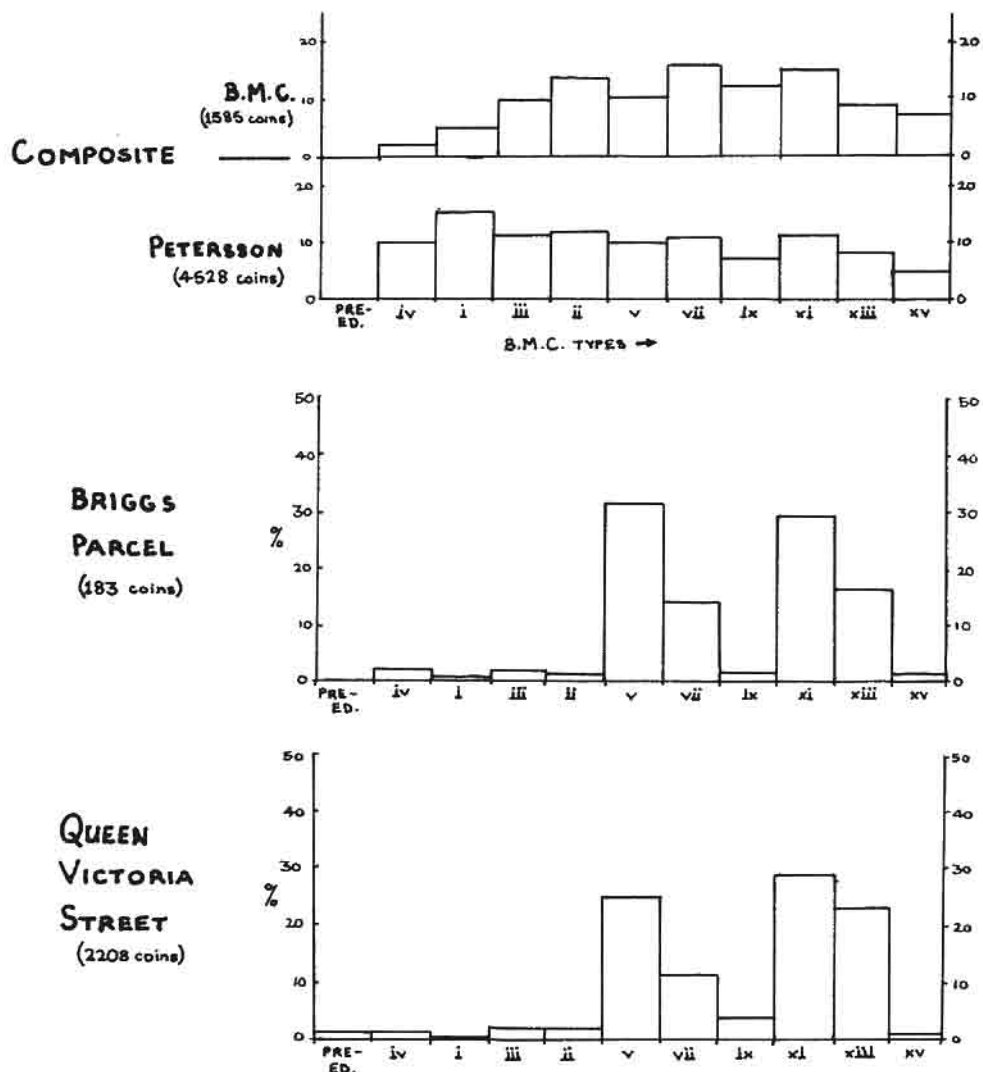
authorities.

⁸ Both Willet and Evans record coins of Æthelred II, Cnut, and Harold I. Evans lists one coin of Harthacnut, and both list coins of Harold II and William I. The hoard appears to terminate with a coin of William I, *BMC* type IV, at the latest.

⁹ Nos. 39, 40 and 43, 44. In both cases the readings differ.

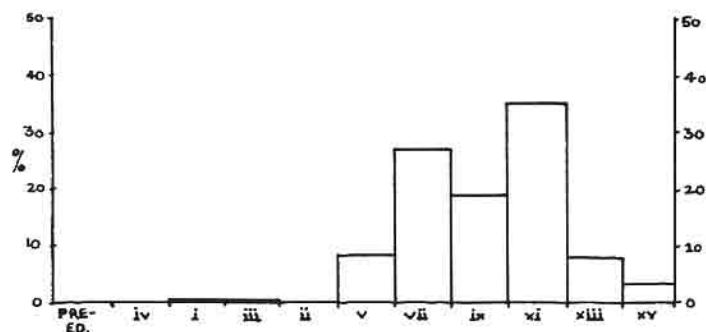
¹⁰ The Elmore-Jones collection illustrates this admirably. His collection (Glendinning, 12:v:1972) differed from the *BMC* coins by no more than 4% in any of the Confessor's types except the Small Flan. Even that would be within 4% if the B.M. coins from the Thwaite hoard were ignored. Considerably greater discrepancies arise between the *BMC* and Petersson composite histograms.

Hence, a number of histograms were produced showing the chronological composition of hoards predominantly of Edward the Confessor. It was hoped that a composite histogram based on the sample of 4,528 coins used by Petersson¹¹ in his meterological studies would provide a typical sample of the coinage as a whole. In fact this showed a more even representation of types than was anticipated, a characteristic which may be attributed to the bias of the Scandinavian material towards types early in the reign. This supposition was confirmed by a second composite histogram compiled solely from the coins recorded in the *British Museum Catalogue*. However, this sample is also strongly biased, over half the coins deriving from the Chancton or Queen Victoria Street hoards.

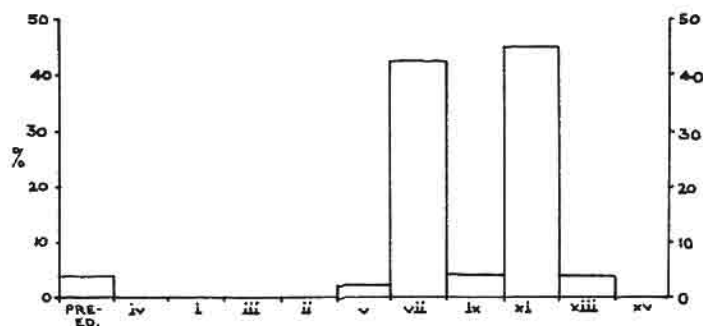


¹¹ H. B. A. Petersson, *Anglo-Saxon Currency* (1969), p. 234, Table 39, col. 3. This sample includes, *inter alia*, the B.M. coins.

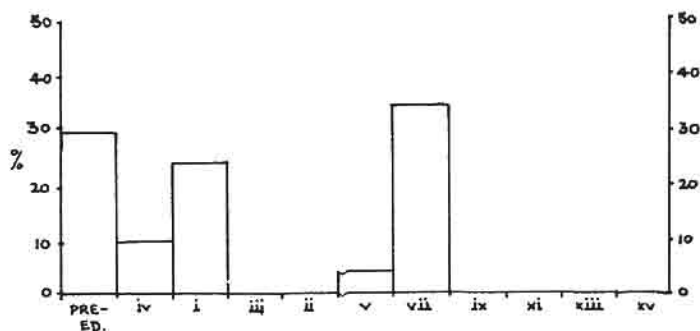
UPPER
CHANCTON
FARM
(1638 coins)



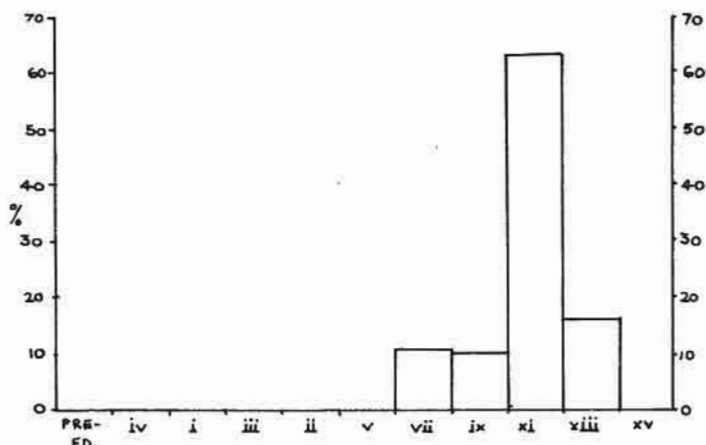
GRACECHURCH
STREET
(67 coins)



MILTON
STREET
(52 coins)



SEDLESCOMBE
(1135 coins)



Two points about the histograms were immediately striking. Firstly, the similarity between the Briggs parcel and the Queen Victoria Street hoard, and secondly, the diversity in composition of the different hoards. These factors, together with the obvious lack of correlation between the Briggs parcel and the composite material, strongly suggested that the parcel derived from the Queen Victoria Street hoard.

Other (unpublished) work by the writer has shown that regional composition is rarely a reliable guide to hoard provenance unless one mint predominates. Even so regional composition may characterize a hoard. In the present case there is a marked scarcity of coins from both south-eastern and south-western mints, while, by contrast, all the major mints of the East Midlands and East Anglia are represented, Bedford and Colchester particularly strongly. A table was therefore constructed (Table I) to compare the number of coins of each mint in the Briggs parcel with the number of coins of that mint which might be expected to occur in a typical sample of about 180 coins taken from the 2,200 coins recorded by Willet in his report on the Queen Victoria Street hoard. In compiling this table, if less than ten coins of a mint were listed in Willet's report, the mint was included among a composite group of twenty-two minor mints,¹² any eight of which might be expected to provide single coins in a sample of 180 coins.¹³

The results of this comparison were startling. All but one of the thirty-three anticipated mints were represented,¹⁴ fourteen by *exactly* the number of coins predicted, and in all but four of the remaining cases by within two coins (i.e. approximately 1 per cent) of the number anticipated.¹⁵ In addition to the thirty-two predicted

¹² Bedwyn, Cricklade, Dorchester, Dover, Guildford, Hastings, Hereford, Ilchester, Langport (listed as Lancaster by Willet), Lewes, Malmesbury, Rochester, Romney, Sandwich, Steyning, Sudbury, Tamworth, Taunton, Wareham, Warwick, Watchet, Worcester.

¹³ Together the 22 mints provide 109 coins in 2,200. In a parcel of 178 coins 8 or 9 might therefore be expected.

The chance of any particular mint appearing will clearly be about one in three (8:22).

¹⁴ The exception was Nottingham, and then only a single coin was anticipated.

¹⁵ The exceptions were mainly larger mints: Colchester (8 recorded against 4 anticipated), London (32 against 37), Thetford (10 against 17), and York (10 against 6).

TABLE I
Composition of the Briggs parcel

<i>B.M.C. Types</i>												<i>Anticipated no. (see text)</i>
<i>Mint</i>	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vii	ix	xi	xiii	xv	TOTAL	
Bath					1		1				2	2
Bedford					3			3			6	4
Bristol					1						1	2
Bury St. Edmunds					1						1	1
Cambridge						1		1	2		4	4
Canterbury					1	1		2			4	6
Chester					3						3	2
Chichester								2			2	2
Colchester					2	2		3	1		8	4
Cricklade							1				1	*
Derby								1			1	1
Dover								1			1	*
Exeter			1		1			2	1		5	3
Gloucester					1		1				2	2
Hereford								1			1	*
Hertford					1						1	1
Huntingdon					1	1		2			4	3
Ilchester					1						1	*
Ipswich				1	1	1		2	5		10	8
Leicester								1			1	1
Lewes								1			1	*
Lincoln			1		8	2		3	2		16	15
London		2	1	2	10	2	1	7	7		32	37
Maldon					1						1	1
Northampton					1						1	3
Norwich					4	3		4	2		13	12
Nottingham											—	1
Oxford					2			4			6	4
Salisbury								1			1	1
Shaftesbury								1			1	1
Shrewsbury					1						1	1
Southwark								1			1	1
Stamford				1	1	1			2	1	6	5
Thetford					3	1		2	4		10	17
Wallingford						1		3			4	5
Wilton						1		1	1		3	3
Winchester					4	1		1	2	2	10	11
Worcester					1						1	*
York	1	1	1		3	1		2	1		10	6
<i>Minor mints</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
TOTALS	1	3	4	4	57	19	4	52	30	3	177	178
Uncertain mints											6	
TOTAL											183	

* Included under heading of minor mints.

Minor Mints: Bedwyn, Cricklade, Dorchester, Dover, Guildford, Hastings, Hereford, Ilchester, Langport (listed as Lancaster by Willet), Lewes, Malmesbury, Rochester, Romney, Sandwich, Steyning, Sudbury, Tamworth, Taunton, Wareham, Warwick, Watchet, Worcester.

mints a further six mints were represented.¹⁶ These had all been included in the group of minor mints, and as expected none was represented by more than a single coin.

Conclusions

Thus the evidence of both the chronological and regional analysis points in the same direction, and the conclusion that the Briggs parcel derived from the Queen Victoria Street hoard is inescapable.

It would, however, appear that the coins were not among those examined by Willet since they include at least five moneyers unrecorded by him (coins nos. 1, 21, 79, 98, 107), and a further five coins by moneyers unrecorded for that type (coins nos. 4, 5, 49, 66, 141). Another twenty-two coins¹⁷ have spellings of the moneyer's name that differ significantly from the variations noted by Willet. On the other hand over fifty coins have readings identical to those given by Willet.

It remains only to list and comment upon the coins themselves. There are no extreme rarities from the parcel. All the moneyers, with one possible exception, have been recorded for their respective types, either in Willet's report or in the major public and private collections.¹⁸ The possible exception is the Colchester Facing Bust coin (no. 107) with the reading BRVNNPIGE ON COLECE. Brunhyse is a well-attested Colchester moneyer for the type, and was proposed as the moneyer by Briggs's cataloguer. Yet it is difficult to reconcile the reading given with this name. While the possibility of misreading cannot be overlooked it seems improbable, when the cataloguer obviously knew of the name in its accepted form. Even so, without the coin itself the reading cannot be unreservedly accepted.

Two other Facing Bust coins (nos. 169, 170) are said to be by Edwine and Eofwine of York. Even with the latter reading amended to Leofwine neither moneyer is recorded for York. Two further factors also weigh against a York attribution. Firstly, mints were generally arranged in alphabetical order within each lot in Briggs's sale, yet the coins in question were listed between those of London and Stamford. Secondly, a further coin (no. 180), also said to be of York mint, appears in the anticipated position in the same lot. It therefore seems likely that the mint intended was not York, but Norwich, where not only are Edwine and Leofwine recorded by Willet for the type, but he even notes the variant spelling Eofwine.

Notes on the listing

Columns 2 and 3 record the lot number in Briggs's catalogue and the BMC type number. If omitted they repeat the preceding entry. The column 'Modified reading' proposes any alteration to the reading given in Briggs's catalogue ('Recorded reading') where this seems both necessary and epigraphically justifiable.

¹⁶ Cricklade, Dover, Hereford, Ilchester, Lewes, and Worcester (the last misattributed to Winchester in Briggs's catalogue).

¹⁷ Nos. 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 27, 32, 54, 55, 57, 64, 86, 111, 135, 142, 148, 151, 173, 177, 178, 182, 183. About 14 other coins have variant recorded readings, but these may be the result of misreading similar letters, e.g.

C for E or G.

¹⁸ e.g. *BMC* and *SCBI* for the public collections and H. Montagu (Sotheby, 1896, 1897), P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton (Sotheby, 1913, 1916, 1918), Roth (Sotheby 1917, 1918), Mann (Sotheby 1917), R. C. Lockett (Glendining 1955, 1956, 1958), F. Elmore-Jones (Glendining 1972), for the private collections.

Disposition: An annotated sale catalogue in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford records the following disposition:

W. S. Lincoln & Son	Lots 221, 228, 230, 232, 237, 239
W. T. Ready	Lot 223
Rose	Lots 219, 220, 226, 236
Smith	Lots 224, 225
Spink & Son	Lots 222, 227, 229, 233, 234, 235, 238
Verity	Lot 231.

COINS FROM BRIGG'S SALE (22:iii:1893), LOTS 219-239

No.	Lot No.	BMC type	Recorded reading	Modified reading	Mint
1	233	i	ØÐIIN ON EØFERP		York
2	239	ii	GOLDSIE ON LVN		London
3			PVLFRED ON LV		London
4			ÆLFPIE ON EOFI		York
5	226	iii	GIFRIC ON ECXCE	ELFRIC ON ECXCE	Exeter
6			GODPIC ON LINCOLN	GODRIC ON LINCOLN	Lincoln
7			ÆLPIC ONN LVND		London
8			ERNGRIM ON EØFERP		York
9	227	iv	LIFINC ON GIPESP		Ipswich (Broken)
10			BRVNGAR ON LV		London
11			ELPINE ONN LVND		London
12			GODPINE O STAN		Stamford
13	219	v	(Æ)GELMÆR ON BADA		Bath
14			ÆLMON ON BEDEFO		Bedford
15			SPOT ON BEDEFOR		Bedford
16			PVLFPI ON BEDEFO		Bedford
17			ESTAN ON BRIC		Bristol
18	223		MORCERGE ON EDMVN	MORCEREE ON EDMVN	Bury St. Edmunds
19	219		EDPERD ON CENTI		Canterbury
20	221		ALCSIE ON LEICESTR		Chester
21			ÆLFPIE ON LICESTR	ÆLEPINE ON LICESTR	Chester
22			ELFSIE ON LEICES		Chester
23	220		STANMÆR ON COLEE		Colchester
24			LEOFPERD ON COLE		Colchester
25			EDSIE ON EXCESTR		Exeter
26			EAPVLF ON GLEPEEE	EAPVLF ON GLEPECE	Gloucester
27			PILGRIM ON HEORT		Hertford
28			GODRIC ON HVNTEN		Huntingdon
29			OSPARD ON GIFELC		Ilchester
30	221		PVLSIG ON GIPESP	PVLSIE ON GIPESP	Ipswich
31			BRIHTRIC ON LINC		Lincoln
32			COLGRM ON LINCO		Lincoln
33			GODRIC ON LINCOL		Lincoln
34			MANNA ON LINCOL		Lincoln
35			ODGRIM ON LINCOL		Lincoln
36			OSLAC ON LINCOLNE		Lincoln
37			OSPVRD ON LINC	OSFVRD ON LINC	Lincoln
38			VLF ON LINCOLNE		Lincoln
39	222		BRICSIG ON LVND		London

<i>No.</i>	<i>Lot No.</i>	<i>BMC type</i>	<i>Recorded reading</i>	<i>Modified reading</i>	<i>Mint</i>
40	222	v	BRIXSIE ON LVNDENE		London
41			DVDNIC ON LVNDEN		London
42			EDRED ON LVNDE		London
43			ELFPINE ON LVND		London
44			ELFPINE ON LVNDENE		London
45			GODPINE ON LVND		London
46			LEOFRED ON LVND		London
47			LEOFSIC ON LVND		London
48			EDRACELINC(?) ON LV	SPRACELINC ON LV	London
49			DEGI ON MÆLDVNE		Maldon
50	224		ELFPINE ON HANT		Northampton
51	223		CENEL . . ON NORD	CENELM ON NORD	Norwich
52			LEOFPINE ON NORD		Norwich
53			DORFORD O NORDP		Norwich
54			DVRECIRD ON NOR		Norwich
55			ÆIL . . . ON OXENEFO	ÆLFPI ON OXENEFO	Oxford
56			SPETMAN ON OXENE		Oxford
57	224		ELPEN ON SCREOBE	ELFEN ON SCREOBE	Shrewsbury
58			LEOFPINE ONN STAN		Stamford
59			EGELSIE ON ðEOD		Thetford
60			ESTMVND ON ðEO		Thetford
61			LEOFPINE ON ðEODF		Thetford
62	225		BRAND ON PINCESTR		Winchester
63			BRIHTPOLD ON PINCE		Winchester
64			GODPINE ON PINE		Winchester
65			PVNSTAN ON PINCEST		Winchester
66			LEFSTAN ON PINERI	LEFSTAN ON PIHERI	Worcester
67			ERNGRIM ON EOFERPI		York
68			LEOFNOB ON EOFER		York
69			ÐORR ON EOFERI		York
70	234	vii	ÆLFPII ON GRANTEC		Cambridge
71			ELRED ON CENTPA		Canterbury
72			BRIHTRIC ON COL		Colchester
73			DEORMAN ON COLECE		Colchester
74			GODPINE ON HVNT		Huntingdon
75			LEOFPOLD ON GIPE		Ipswich
76			MANNA ON LINCOLL		Lincoln
77			OSPERD ON LIVCO	OSFERD ON LINCO	Lincoln
78			GODMAN ON LVND		London
79			LEOFRIC ON LVNDE		London
80-82	235		'Three of the Norwich mint'		Norwich
83			GODPINE ON STANF		Stamford
84			GODELEOF ON DEOF		Thetford
85			BRINTPINE ON PALI	BRIHTPINE ON PALI	Wallingford
86			BVRECIL ON PILT	DVRECIL ON PILT	Wilton
87			LIFINC ON PINCES		Winchester
88			ARNGRIM ON EOFE		York
89-94			'and six imperfect pieces of the same type'		
95	238	ix	EADVEARDVS REX ANGLO		Bath
			GOD . . . ON BADA	GODRIC ON BADA	
96			EADPARD REX ANGL		Cricklade
			ÆGELPI ON CRECGELAD		
97			LEOFPINE ON GLEPEC		Gloucester

<i>No.</i>	<i>Lot No.</i>	<i>BMC type</i>	<i>Recorded reading</i>	<i>Modified reading</i>	<i>Mint</i>
98	239	ix	ÆGLSIGE ON LVNDEN		London
99	228	xi	GODPINE ON BEDEFO		Bedford
100			SIGOD ON BEDEFOR		Bedford
101			PVLFRJ ON BEDEFOR		Bedford
102			SÆCOLF ON CAN . .	SÆCOLF ON GANT	Cambridge
103			EADPARD ON CÆNTP		Canterbury
104			PVLFPINE ON CANTE		Canterbury
105			ÆLFPINE ON CICEAS		Chichester
106			PVLFRIC ON CICEIT		Chichester
107			BRVNNPIGE ON COLECE		Colchester
108			GODPINE ON COLECE		Colchester
109			GOLDMAN ON COLECE		Colchester
110	229		LIOFPINE ON DIRBI		Derby
111	231		CIOLPI ON DOFEREN		Dover
112	229		ÆLFPIG ON EXECES	ÆLFRIC ON EXECES	Exeter
113			PVLMÆR ON EXECE		Exeter
114			EADPI ON HEREF	EADRD ON HEREF	Hereford
115			GODRIC ON HVNTE		Huntingdon
116			GODPINE ON HVNTE		Huntingdon
117			BRVNING ON GIPESI	BRVNINC ON GIPESI	Ipswich
118			LIOFPOLD ON GIPESC		Ipswich
119			ÆLRIC ON LEHRECE		Leicester
120			OSPOLD ON LÆPE		Lewes
121	230		GODRIC ON LINCOLELE		Lincoln
122			VLF ON LINCOLNE		Lincoln
123			PVLBORN ON LIN		Lincoln
124			Ælfward	'of the London mint'	London
125			Ælfsig		
126			Ælfwine		
127			Edwine		
128			Godric		
129			Godwine		
130			Pulfgar		
131			ÆLFPINE ON NORÐP		Norwich
132			LIOFRIC ON NORÐPI		Norwich
133			ÐORSTAN ON NORÐP		Norwich
134			PVLFSI ON NORÐPIC		Norwich
135	231		ÆGELPINE ON OXENEX		Oxford
136			BRIHTRED ONN OX		Oxford
137			ELFPI ON OXENEXFO		Oxford
138			HAREGOD ON OXENEX		Oxford
139			GODRIC ON SERBVR		Salisbury
140			PVLFRIC ON SCEVETI		Shaftesbury
141			SPETMAN ON SVÐG		Southwark
142	232		BLAGERA ON ÐT	BLACERA ON ÐT	Thetford
143			ELFPINE ON ÐET		Thetford
144			BRAD ON PALINGE		Wallingford
145			BRIHTMÆR ON PALI		Wallingford
146			BRVNPINE ON PALL		Wallingford
147			ALFPOLD ON PILTVNE		Wilton
148			SPRAFLING ON PINCE	SPRACLINC ON PINCE	Winchester
149-150			'and two others of York mint'		York
151	236	xiii	EADPI ON GRANI	EADPD ON GRANI	Cambridge

<i>No.</i>	<i>Lot No.</i>	<i>BMC type</i>	<i>Recorded reading</i>	<i>Modified reading</i>	<i>Mint</i>
152	236	xiii	PVLFP ON GRANT		Cambridge
153			GOLDMAN ON COLECE		Colchester
154			LIFINC ON EXECE		Exeter
155			BRVNINE		
156			BRVM		
157			BRINRIC	'of Ipswich mint'	Ipswich
158			ELFPINE		
159			LEOFOLD		
160			LEFPINE		
161			VLF	'of Lincoln mint'	Lincoln
162-165			'and four of the London mint'		
166-168	237		'Three coins of London mint'		London
169			EDPINE	'of York mint'	Norwich?
170			EOFPINE		
171			BRVNPINE	'of Stamford mint'	Stamford
172			SPARCOLF		
173			ATSER	'of Thetford mint'	Thetford
174			ELFPINE		
175			GODRIC		
176			SVHRD		
177			LIOFPINE ON PILV		Wilton
178			BODE	'of Winchester mint'	Winchester
179			LEOFOLD		
180	233	xv	'and one of York mint'		York
181			SPARCOLE ON ST	SPARCOLF ON ST	Stamford
182			ANDERBODE ON		Winchester
183			LFINE ON PINCE		Winchester

Note: Lot 226—One coin broken.

A PARCEL FROM THE MONTPELLIER (1934) HOARD

J. D. BRAND AND J. DUPLESSY

IN the *Revue Numismatique* for 1934, Émile Bonnet gave brief details of a hoard of English Short Cross pennies found in Montpellier in that year.¹ He reported that there were more than 600 coins in the find, nearly all of the Short Cross type. The majority were of the mints of London and Canterbury, but there were also specimens of Chichester, Durham, Ipswich, Lincoln, Norwich (and/or Northampton), Oxford, Rochester, St. Edmundsbury, Winchester, and York. Also present were nine Scottish pennies of the last type of William the Lion (a type also struck posthumously), four Irish pennies of King John, and one German coin of Frederick II struck at Dortmund (Chautard pl. XXI, 7). Mixed with the pennies were more than 150 cut half-pennies and a score of cut farthings. From the scanty details Michael Dolley deduced that the hoard was probably to be dated to *c.* 1240,² and that dating was followed by Jacques Yvon in his review of all French hoards containing English Short Cross coins.³

Late in 1972 Mlle Josette Noël sent a parcel of these coins to the *Cabinet des Médailles* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, for examination.⁴ They had belonged to her father, who was the contractor who discovered the hoard while digging a trench in a street in Montpellier. The parcel consisted of 200 pennies and 36 cut halfpence. A summary of the contents is given in Table I, and a full listing of the coins

TABLE I
Summary of the Hoard

	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Cut ½d.</i>
England: Short Cross	195	33
England: Short Cross Imitations	2	—
Ireland: John as King	1	—
Scotland: William the Lion	1	3
Germany: Frederick II	1	—
	200	36

¹ É. Bonnet, 'Note sur un trésor de monnaies Anglaises découvert à Montpellier', *RN* 4^e, 37 (1934), 169-73. M. Bonnet was a local antiquary: he was president of the *Société Archéologique de Montpellier* in 1936. He also published the same article, but under a different title, in *Monspeliensia*, II (1935-40), 63-7.

² M. Dolley, 'The Continental Hoard-Evidence for the Chronology of the Anglo-Irish Pence of John',

N.Circ. 1966, 30-2.

³ J. Yvon, 'Esterlins à la croix courte dans les trésors français de la fin du XII^e et de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle', *BNJ* xxxix (1970), 24-60.

⁴ We would like to thank Mlle Noël for giving us the opportunity to study the coins and to publish them, and also for allowing the *Bibliothèque Nationale* to purchase 39 of the specimens for its collections.

is given at the end of this paper. The latest English coins present were some very late in class VII,⁵ including 14 by the moneyer Nichole at London and Canterbury. There was no specimen by the moneyer Ioan at Bury St. Edmunds, but it must not be inferred from this that the hoard was consequently put together before he commenced to strike. In the Gisors hoard⁶ there were 127 coins of Nichole to only 7 of Ioan: using the same proportion less than one coin of Ioan could be expected in this much smaller parcel, and his absence is therefore not significant. The parcel may accordingly be dated to c. 1240 in the light of the coins present and the current tentative chronology of the later Short Cross classes.

TABLE II
English Coins by Mints and Classes

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>	<i>Total</i>
PENNIES								
London	6	1	—	5	8	22	41	83
Canterbury	—	—	—	4	9	5	71	89
Bury St. Edmunds	—	—	—	—	1	2	7	10
Durham	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	3
Lincoln	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Lynn	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Norwich	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Winchester	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	4
York	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
	6	1	2	9	28	29	120	195
Imitations								2
								197
HALF-PENCE								
London	1	—	—	—	2	6	3	12
Canterbury	—	—	—	—	1	1	9	11
Chichester	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Norwich/Northampton	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Oxford	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Winchester	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Uncertain	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	4
	2	—	1	—	9	8	12	32
Uncertain type								1
								33

A summary of the English coins by mints and classes is given in Table II. The general structure is very similar to that shown by the Gisors hoard which is of only a few years later. The fact that there are exactly 200 penny size pieces and three dozen cut

⁵ The classification used in this paper is that evolved by L. A. Lawrence, 'The Short Cross Coinage, 1180-1247', *BNJ* xi (1915), 59-100, as modified by F. Elmore Jones, 'The Last Short-Cross Issue of Henry III (Class

VIII)', *BNJ* xxv (1947), 286-90, and J. D. Brand, 'Some Short Cross Questions', *BNJ* xxxiii (1964), 57-69.

⁶ F. Dumas and J. D. Brand, 'The British Coins in the Gisors (1970) Hoard', *BNJ* xl (1971), 22-43.

halfpennies in the parcel does suggest that they were deliberately counted out as the share of M. Noëll (one-third?). There were, however, no cut farthings present although there were a score in the complete hoard. More disturbing, perhaps, is to find that the German coin of Frederick II in the parcel is *not* the one reported in 1934.⁷ Was it not recognized at that time as being a German imitation of the English Short Cross type? It is quite close stylistically to the normal English penny whereas the piece signalled by Bonnet, though adapted from the English Short Cross design, is very different.⁸

Was the parcel a random sample of the Hoard? Many of the coins in it were ill-struck and unattractive in appearance, which does suggest that they were not hand-picked from the greater mass. This does not rule out, however, that some other person did not pick out a selection of nicer-looking coins before Noëll took his group. The question cannot be resolved completely, but a further indication that the parcel probably is representative is that, as discussed below, it does seem to be largely in accordance with what might be expected of a hoard gathered together in England c. 1240.

In the discussion of the Gisors hoard it was compared in a number of ways with some other late Short Cross finds. A similar comparison of the Montpellier parcel with other hoards is also useful and constructive, although it has not been deemed necessary to repeat here the detailed figures for all those other hoards, but only those in respect of Colchester (1902)⁹ and Gisors which, on the coin evidence, seem to be the two nearest in date, one on each side. Table III shows the percentages of the different mints present: the minor provincial mints being added together for this purpose to make the figures significantly large. The only striking feature is that there are more coins of Canterbury than there are of London in the Montpellier parcel. The point need not be pressed too hard, however, as it would only need an extra dozen or so pennies of London (rather, it would seem, than a dozen fewer of Canterbury) to put the percentages on a more 'normal' basis. In a comparatively small group of coins such as this, the presence or absence of a few coins, which must be expected in any random sample, makes a big difference to the percentage count. Table IV gives the number of coins of the prolific London moneyers Abel, Ilger, Rau(l)f, and Walter, whose contribution to a hoard after the conclusion of class VIa should be a gradually diminishing percentage. In the Montpellier parcel they provide 17 per cent instead of an expected 18 per cent: a mere couple of coins short and not significant. Also in Table IV is shown the contribution of coins by the late class VII moneyer Nichole, at both London and Canterbury. There was merely a token representation in the Colchester hoard, and a very substantial number in Gisors. The Montpellier figures are just about one-half, in percentages, of the latter, and is the main indication that the date of the parcel is about halfway between the first appointment of Nicholas of

⁷ That coin, which was reported as having the legends almost entirely illegible, was identified for M. Bonnet by G. C. Brooke of the British Museum as being Chautard type Pl. XXI, 7. It does not seem likely that Brooke saw the other coins in the hoard, but the question cannot be determined as most of Brooke's records were destroyed when the British Museum Coin Room was bombed

during the Second World War.

⁸ See J. Chautard, *Imitations des monnaies au type Esterlin*, Nancy, 1871, pp. 182-92, Pl. XXI.

⁹ H. A. Grueber, 'A Find of Silver Coins at Colchester', *NC* 1903, 111-76, and more particularly the tabulations of the coins therein published in the report of the Gisors hoard.

TABLE III
English Pennies by Mints compared with other Hoards

	<i>Colchester</i>		<i>Montpellier</i>		<i>Gisors</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
London	5,096	48.2	83	42.6	366	44.6
Canterbury	4,125	39.0	89	45.6	347	42.3
Bury St. Edmunds	457	4.3	10	5.1	29	3.5
Other Mints		8.3		6.7		7.4
Carlisle	21		—		1	
Chichester	28		—*		2	
Durham	21		3		1	
Exeter	48		—		1	
Ipswich	34		—*		—	
Lincoln	100		2		6	
Lynn	20		1		1	
Northampton/Norwich	122		2		13	
Oxford	21		—*		5	
Rochester	9		—*		2	
Shrewsbury	6		—		—	
Wilton	8		—		2	
Winchester	247		4		15	
Worcester	15		—		1	
York	157		1		8	
Rhuddlan	15		—		3	
Uncertain	22	0.2	—		18	2.2
	10,572	100.0	195	100.0	821	100.0
Ratio London: Canterbury	1.2:1		0.9:1		1.1:1	

* Mints reported to be present in the complete hoard.

TABLE IV
Selected Moneyers

	<i>Colchester</i>	<i>Montpellier</i>	<i>Gisors</i>
A. LONDON			
Abel	463	7	33
Ilger	760	9	54
Rau(l)f	610	10	36
Walter	83	7	22
	1,916	33	145
% of total	18	17	18
B. NICHOLE Class VII			
London	1	6	57
Canterbury	1	8	55
Uncertain	—	—	15
	2	14	127
% of total	—	7	15
% of Class VII	—	12	25

TABLE V
English Pennies by Classes

	<i>Colchester</i>		<i>Montpellier</i>		<i>Gisors</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Class I-IV	1,198	11.3	18	9.2	74	9.0
V-VI	3,179	30.1	57	29.2	212	25.8
VII	6,195	58.6	120	61.6	504	61.4
VIII	—	—	—	—	31	3.8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10,572	100.0	195	100.0	821	100.1

St. Albans (1237?) and the introduction of class VIII (in 1242?). In Table V a summary of the classes present is given, and the percentages fit in very well with the pattern established when the Gisors hoard was examined and compared with the other late hoards.

The coins have been weighed on the automatic balance in the *Cabinet des Médailles*, correct to the nearest centigramme, and the weights of the regular English pence and halfpence summarized in Tables VI and VIII respectively. So far as the pennies are

TABLE VI
Tabulation of Weights by Classes: English Regular Pennies

<i>Grammes</i>	<i>I and II</i>	<i>III and IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Grains</i>
1.65	—	—	—	—	1	1	25.5
1.52-1.55	—	—	—	—	4	4	23.5-23.9
1.49-1.51	—	—	2	2	6	10	23.0-23.3
1.46-1.48	—	—	3	2	29	34	22.5-22.8
1.43-1.45	1	1	7	9	26	44	22.1-22.4
1.39-1.42	2	3	9	3	25	42	21.5-21.9
1.36-1.38	—	1	2	2	7	12	21.0-21.3
1.33-1.35	—	—	—	2	2	4	20.5-20.8
1.30-1.32	—	—	1	1	4	6	20.1-20.4
1.27-1.29	—	1	—	—	5	6	19.6-19.9
1.23-1.26	—	1	3	1	2	7	19.0-19.4
1.20-1.22	—	—	—	1	3	4	18.5-18.8
1.17-1.19	1	3	—	1	1	6	18.1-18.4
1.14-1.16	1	—	1	—	2	4	17.6-17.9
1.10-1.13	1	—	—	2	2	5	17.0-17.4
1.07-1.09	—	—	—	1	1	2	16.5-16.8
1.04-1.06	—	1	—	2	—	3	16.0-16.4
1.01-1.03	—	—	—	—	—	—	15.6-15.9
0.97-1.00	1	—	—	—	—	1	15.0-15.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	7	11	28	29	120	195	
Average g.	1.24	1.29	1.39	1.34	1.41	1.38	
gr.	19.1	19.9	21.5	20.7	21.8	21.3	
Median g.			1.42	1.40	1.43	1.42	
gr.			21.9	21.6	22.1	21.9	
Heaviest g.	1.43	1.45	1.50	1.49	1.65	1.65	
gr.	22.1	22.4	23.1	23.0	25.5	25.5	
Lightest g.	1.00	1.06	1.14	1.04	1.09	1.00	
gr.	15.4	16.0	17.6	16.0	16.8	15.4	

concerned, the general pattern is very similar to that disclosed by the Gisors weights: the average weight¹⁰ of all English pennies in both hoards is the same. A very interesting point is that the weights of the coins of classes V, VI, and VII in general are a trifle heavier in Montpellier than in Gisors: as they had not been in circulation quite so long they had not lost quite so much by wear. This aspect is considered further in Table VII where the latest coins in the two hoards are tabulated. Nichole appears to

TABLE VII
Comparison of Weights: Montpellier and Gisors

<i>Grammes</i>	<i>Gisors VII excluding Nichole</i>	<i>Montpellier VII excluding Nichole</i>	<i>Gisors Nichole VII</i>	<i>Gisors VIII</i>	<i>Montpellier Nichole VII</i>	<i>Grains</i>
1.65	—	1	—	—	—	25.5
1.62-1.64	1	—	—	—	—	25.0-25.3
1.59-1.61	1	—	—	—	—	24.5-24.8
1.56-1.58	1	—	1	3	—	24.1-24.4
1.52-1.55	4	3	9	1	1	23.5-23.9
1.49-1.51	17	3	16	2	3	23.0-23.3
1.46-1.48	56	23	26	7	6	22.5-22.8
	— 80	— 30	— 52	— 13	— 10	
1.43-1.45	92	26	18	4	—	22.1-22.4
1.39-1.42	98	23	23	4	2	21.5-21.9
1.36-1.38	38	6	7	1	1	21.0-21.3
1.33-1.35	15	2	5	2	—	20.5-20.8
1.30-1.32	12	4	8	2	—	20.1-20.4
	— 255	— 61	— 61	— 13	— 3	
1.27-1.29	9	5	5	2	—	19.6-19.9
1.23-1.26	10	1	4	—	1	19.0-19.4
1.20-1.22	4	3	—	2	—	18.5-18.8
1.17-1.19	4	1	1	1	—	18.1-18.4
1.14-1.16	8	2	—	—	—	17.6-17.9
1.10-1.13	3	2	2	—	—	17.0-17.4
1.07-1.09	—	1	—	—	—	16.5-16.8
1.04-1.06	1	—	—	—	—	16.0-16.4
1.01-1.03	1	—	1	—	—	15.6-15.9
0.97-1.00	1	—	—	—	—	15.0-15.4
0.94-0.96	—	—	1	—	—	14.5-14.8
	— 41	— 15	— 14	— 5	— 1	
	— 376	— 106	— 127	— 31	— 14	
Average g.	1.40	1.40	1.41	1.41	1.45	
gr.	21.6	21.6	21.8	21.8	22.4	
Median g.	1.42	1.43	1.43	1.44	1.47	
gr.	21.9	22.1	22.1	22.2	22.7	
	%	%	%	%	%	
Std. or greater	21	28	41	42	71	
20 gr. to 22.4 gr.	68	58	48	42	22	
Less than 20 gr.	11	14	11	16	7	

¹⁰ The average weights quoted throughout this paper were obtained from summation of the individual weights of coins, and not from group weighings.

have commenced striking about the year 1237 and after that date all the coins of London seem to be in his name, and presumably five-eighths of the Canterbury coins also; the other three-eighths being struck for the archbishop's moneyers. The coins of Nichole are accordingly all late and their weights have been tabulated separately from the others of class VII. The class VII coins excluding those of Nichole are fractionally heavier in Montpellier than in Gisors, although on the Table this only shows in the median. The Nichole coins of class VII in Gisors are slightly heavier still, and only fractionally less than the class VIII coins (of all moneyers and mints) in Gisors, again shown on the Table only by the median weight. When the Montpellier pennies of Nichole are considered by themselves the average weight is the heaviest of all, at 1.45 g. only marginally less than the presumed standard weight of $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains (1.46 g.),¹¹ and the median is certainly higher than the standard. There are only 14 coins involved in this last group, which is too small a number for far-reaching conclusions to be drawn, but of those 14 only 4 are lighter than standard and the other 10 are all of standard weight or greater. It seems most unlikely that they had been picked out specially by eye alone, either in the thirteenth century or the twentieth, for several of them are poorly struck and do not stand out as being fresh and therefore heavy. If they had been picked out by weighing in the thirteenth century they would scarcely have been accompanied by so many earlier coins of lower average weight.

The Montpellier parcel certainly confirms the metrological evidence of the Gisors hoard, that the mints were operating to wide tolerances in the late Short Cross period. The greatest concentration of coins as struck seems to have been in the band one grain heavier to one grain lighter than standard, but significantly large numbers also lie outside those limits. On Tables VI and VII it can be seen that pennies of standard weight or greater account for a steadily increasing proportion of the total in each group of coins as it gets closer to its date of issue, indicating perhaps that when the coins left the mint some half of them were overweight and the other half underweight. Whilst in circulation the coins gradually lost weight through wear. The average weight of these coins always seems to be lower than the median weight, due largely to a long 'tail' of light coins readily seen on the Tables. This does, however, seem to be more often due to exceptional wear on some pieces than to nefarious practices. There does seem to be good evidence that there was no general practice of culling heavy coins and leaving only the lighter ones in circulation. Both of these hoards were, of course, found in France and therefore are not necessarily indicative of the state of the coinage generally current in England. But there does not, in the present state of knowledge at least, seem to be any real reason to think that either of them is not a parcel derived directly, or at only a small number of removes, from the general coin stock of England. The only recorded later hoard from Britain itself is that from Wrexham,¹² from which it is known that a large proportion were dispersed before it was brought to the attention of the authorities and that the coins so disposed of were most probably the better quality coins (and therefore perhaps, though not necessarily, included a selection of pieces of higher than average weight). At first sight the Wrexham hoard does appear to be significantly lighter than the two French hoards

¹¹ The standard weight at this period may have been only a little more than 22.3 gr. (1.44 g.).

¹² J. M. Lewis, 'A Short Cross Hoard from Wrexham', *BNJ* xxxix (1970), 19-23.

discussed in detail here. The average weight of the pennies of all classes is only 1.34 g. (20.7 gr.) and the median weight only 1.38 g. (21.3 gr.). The figures for class VII alone are just one centigramme higher for both average and median. But the class VII coins of Nichole only do rise to 1.40 g. (21.6 gr.) average and 1.44 g. (22.2 gr.) median which, although there are only 15 coins in this group, do compare favourably with the comparable weights in Montpellier and Gisors when it is appreciated that the Wrexham hoard was probably deposited later than Gisors and the Nichole coins had accordingly been longer in circulation. Also it is significant to note that of the 15 coins five were standard weight or greater, a further six weighed more than 20 grains, and only four were lighter.

TABLE VIII
Tabulation of Weights by Classes: English Regular Half-pence

<i>Grammes</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>VII</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Grains</i>
0.81-0.83	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	12.5-12.8
0.78-0.80	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	12.0-12.3
0.75-0.77	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	11.6-11.9
0.71-0.74	-	-	1	1	2	-	4	11.0-11.4
0.68-0.70	1	-	2	-	3	-	6	10.5-10.8
0.65-0.67	-	-	3	2	1	-	6	10.0-10.3
0.62-0.64	1	-	2	-	1	-	4	9.6-9.9
0.58-0.61	-	1	-	1	1	-	3	9.0-9.4
0.55-0.57	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	8.5-8.8
0.52-0.54	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	8.0-8.3
0.49-0.51	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	7.6-7.9
	2	1	9	8	12	1	33	
Average g.	0.67	0.59	0.69	0.59	0.69	0.75	0.66	
gr.	10.3	9.1	10.6	9.1	10.6	11.6	10.2	
Median g.	-	-	-	-	0.68	-	0.66	
gr.	-	-	-	-	10.5	-	10.2	
Heaviest g.	-	-	0.82	0.72	0.82	-	0.82	
gr.	-	-	12.7	11.1	12.7	-	12.7	
Lightest g.	-	-	0.63	0.49	0.57	-	0.49	
gr.	-	-	9.7	7.6	8.8	-	7.6	

The weights of the English halfpennies given in Table VIII are also slightly heavier on average than those in the Gisors hoard, which befits the postulated earlier date of deposit. As in Gisors, there does not seem to be any significant difference in the weights of cut halfpence between the various classes. The usual lack of predominance of coins of the current class at deposition is again evident.¹³

Of the English coins in the parcel the most interesting is that reading WILLELM.ON.L.LV. Obviously a die-sinker's error, it could be a misplacing of the final L of the moneyer Willelm. L who used that letter after his forename to distinguish his products from those of the other Willelms striking in London at the same time. Alternatively it need only be a 'hiccup' of the initial letter of the mint, made by the

¹³ First postulated by J. D. Brand and J. D. A. Thompson, 'A Worcestershire Hoard of Short Cross Pennies', *BNJ* xxxiv (1965), 90-7.

die-sinker returning to complete the die without properly inspecting to see just how far he had got with the legend. Another interesting coin is, unfortunately, only a cut halfpenny of which the moneyer and mint are uncertain. From one of the Nor mints, the obverse clearly shows the X of REX by itself between the hand and the sceptre-head but is not, as is usual, of classes Va or Vb. The letter is not exactly typical of Vc either, but must doubtless belong to that latter class in which it is most unusual for the X to so appear alone. A presumed similar example of an X appearing alone is also found on an early class VI coin of Ilger of London in this hoard, on which the king's name is also spelt incorrectly. The two imitations (as distinct from the adaptations of Frederick II) are also of particular interest. Most probably both are of Westphalian origin.¹⁴

Nothing is known of the circumstances of deposit of the hoard. There appears to be no historic political reason why its owner should not have recovered it. Bilateral commerce between England and Montpellier is well documented for the thirteenth century, and it need occasion no surprise that Short Cross pennies found their way to that city. Whether they were taken there by an English merchant, or carried home by a Frenchman, is impossible to say. In any event one would expect that a few coins, at least, of French origin would have been included in the hoard, even if it represented the wealth of a traveller. The great bulk of the Gisors hoard did consist of the deniers then current in the locality of that town, but it may be significant that the British content was separate in a leather purse inside the sack containing the whole treasure. The hoards from both Montpellier and Gisors do suggest that in each case a parcel of coin direct from Britain was segregated and held as bullion rather than as current money.

The lordship of Montpellier in 1240 was held by King James I of Aragon (1213–76). The local coinage of the region was the denier and obole of Melgueil, supplemented perhaps by coins of Aragon which are found in some hoards. A few years ago M. Duplessy was shown a small group of coins reputed to have been found on 3 February 1893 at Villardonnell (dép. Aude, arr. Carcassonne, cant. Mas-Cabardès) which included four English Short Cross pennies.¹⁵ Proof, surely, that English coin did circulate in Languedoc as well as western and north-western France.¹⁶ A listing of the find is given below:

VILLARDONNELL HOARD

Deniers tournois:	Anonymous, of St. Martin	1
	Philip II, of St. Martin (L. 193)	1
	Louis VIII–Louis IX (L. 195)	2
Melgueil:	Denier	1
English Short Cross:	Class Vb, + FVLKE.ON.LVND	1
	Class VII, Terri, London	3
		9

¹⁴ The 'Londe Civitas' specimen almost certainly is Westphalian, see B. H. I. H. Stewart and J. D. Brand, 'A second find of English sterling from Ribe (1958)', *NNA* 1971, 38–59.

¹⁵ M. Duplessy was not able to ascertain whether this

was the whole or part only of the hoard.

¹⁶ The hoards known to J. Yvon (op. cit.) were, apart from Montpellier and Sisteron, clustered in the west and north-west.

APPENDIX

LIST OF COINS

(Those purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale are marked by an asterisk)

A. PENNIES

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>No. of Coins</i>	<i>Mint Reading</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Weight(s)</i>
LONDON					
ABEL	Vc	2	LVND	Obv. 'c' omitted	1.42,* 1.37
	VIai	1	LVND		1.49*
	VIai	1	LVND		1.05
	VIbi	2	LVNDE		1.41, 1.09
	VIbii	1	LVNDE		1.20
ADAM	Vbii	1	LVNDE		1.47
	VII	1	LVND		1.16
	VII	4	LVNDE		1.41, 1.34, 1.28, 1.25
	VII	2	LVNDEN		1.38, 1.32
ALAIN	Ib	2	LVNDE		1.15, 1.11
BENEIT	Vbii	1	LVN		1.25*
DAVI	Ib	1	LVND	Obv. 'x' has serifs, large face	1.42*
	Ic	1	LVND		1.00
ELIS	VII	2	LVNDE		1.46, 1.44
	VII	1	LVNDEN		1.45
GIFFREI	VII	3	LVN		1.50, 1.47, 1.21
	VII	1	LYN.D		1.20*
ILGER	V or VI	1	LVND	Obv. hNERICVSRE ~	1.46
	VIai	1	LVN		1.40
	VIa-	1	LVNDE.		1.44*
	VIc	1	LVNDE		1.48
	VI orn.	1	LVNDE		1.43*
	VII	1	LVND	Rev. 'D' has extra down stroke	1.49
	VII	1	LYN.D		1.44
	VII	2	LVNDE		1.46, 1.30
LEDVLF	VII	1	LVN		1.48
	VII	1	LVN.		1.44
	VII	1	LVND		1.46
NICHOLE	VII	2	LV		1.48, 1.26
	VII	4	LVN		1.48, 1.47, 1.42, 1.37
RANDUL	Ib	1	LVN		1.18*

A. PENNIES (*cont.*):

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>No. of Coins</i>	<i>Mint Reading</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Weight(s)</i>
RAUF	V or VI	1	LVNDE		1.44
	VIai	1	LVNDE		1.36
	VIbi	1	LVNDE		1.43
	VIbii	1	LVNDE		1.13
	VII	1	LVNDE		1.47
RAUL	Ic	1	LVNDE		1.43
	II	1	LVNDE		1.42*
RAULF	VIb-	1	LVNDE		1.35
	VII	1	LVN		1.31
	VII	1	LVN.		1.42
	VII	1	LVND		1.36
	VII	1	LVNDE		1.45
RICARD	IVa	1	LVN	Obv. Several curls each side	1.40
	IVa	1	LVND		1.42
	VII	4	LVN		1.46 (2), 1.42, 1.14
	VII	1	LVN.		1.18*
	VII	2	LVND		1.44 (2)
RICARD.B	Vbii*	1	LV	'X.'	1.43*
STIVENE	IVa	2	LVN		1.42, 1.36
TERRI	VII	1	LVN.D	TER.RI.ON.LYN.D	1.44*
	VII	1	LVNDE		1.44
WALTER	VIai	2	LV	WLATER	1.49, 1.43
	VIai	2	LVN		1.19, 1.10
	VIbi	1	LVA		1.43*
	VIbii	1	LVN		1.48
	VIbii	1	LVN		1.37
WILLELM	IVa	1	LVN		1.19*
WILLELM.L?	Vbii	1	LV	WILLELM.ON.L.LV	1.43*
WILLELM.B	Vbii	1	LV		1.41
	Vc	1	LV		1.42
CANTERBURY GOLDWINE	IVa	1	C	Rev. 2nd stop missing	1.23
	Vc	1	CA		1.30*
HENRI	VIb or c	1	CANT		1.33
	VIc	1	CANTE		1.44*
	VII	2	CANT		1.47, 1.34
	VII	4	CANTE		1.52, 1.48, 1.46, 1.11

A. PENNIES (*cont.*):

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>No. of Coins</i>	<i>Mint Reading</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Weight(s)</i>
IOAN	VII	3	CANT		1.52, 1.49, 1.48
	VII	2	CANTE		1.40, 1.30
	VII	1	CANTE.		1.46
	VII	1	CANTER		1.46
IOAN.CHIC	VII	6	CA	3 coins read CHIE	1.52, 1.43 (2), 1.41 (2), 1.28
IOAN.F.R	VII	7	CAN		1.45, 1.42 (2), 1.39 (2), 1.38, 1.32
	VII	1	CANT		1.42
IOHAN	Vb or c	1	CAN		1.43
IOHAN.B	Vbii	1	CA		1.46
IOHAN.M	Vbii	1	CA		1.50*
	V, c?	1	CA		1.24
NICHOLE	VII	8	CA		1.54, 1.51, 1.50, 1.49, 1.47 (2), 1.46, 1.40
OSMUND	VII	1	CAN		1.37
	VII	1	CANT		1.44
REINALD	IVa	2	CA		1.28, 1.18
	IVa	1	CAI		1.19
ROBERT	VII	1	C.		1.47*
	VII	1	CA		1.13
ROGER	VII	1	CAN		1.39
	VII	2	CANT		1.47, 1.43
	VII	1	CA---		1.44
ROGER.OF.R	VII	3	C		1.47,* 1.43, 1.27
	VII	1	CA		1.65
SALEMUN	VII	1	CA		1.43
SAMUEL	Vbi	1	CAN		1.43
	Vbiii	1	CA		1.36
	Vc	1	CAN		1.14
	Vlc	1	CANT		1.24
	VII	1	C		1.44
	VII	3	CAN		1.44, 1.41, 1.29
SIMON	Vbii	1	CANT		1.43
SIMUN	VIbi	1	CANTE	Possibly Simon	1.43
	VIbii	1	CANTE		1.32
	VII	1	CANT		1.44
	VII	1	CANTE		1.40

A. PENNIES (*cont.*):

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>No. of Coins</i>	<i>Mint Reading</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Weight(s)</i>
TOMAS	VII	1	CAN.		1.46
	VII	6	CANT		1.46, 1.43 (2), 1.41, 1.39, 1.09
	VII	1	CANT	Double struck on another coin reading + IOANON ---- E	1.44
WILLEM	VII	1	CAN		1.48
	VII	1	CAN.		1.41
WILLEM . TA	VII	2	C		1.44, 1.41
	VII	4	CA		1.46, 1.44, 1.42, 1.40
	VII	1	CA.		1.37
	VII	1	CA.		1.37
BURY ST. EDMUNDS FULKE	Vbii	1	S. AD		1.44*
NORMAN	VII	1	SAN		1.36
	VII	1	SANT		1.39
RAUF	VI orn.	1	SANTEA	Obv. orna- mented c and e's	1.39*
	VId	1	SANTE		1.04
SIMUND	VII	4	SANT		1.47, 1.41 (2), 1.28
	VII	1	S. ANT (?)		1.44
DURHAM PIERES	Vbii	1	DVR.		1.41*
	Vc	1	DVRE		1.39*
	VII	1	DVR		1.46*
LINCOLN ANDREU	Vbii	1	NIC	ANDREV	1.39
	Vbii	1	NIC	ANDREV	1.49
LYNN WILLELM	Vbii	1	LEN		1.41*
NORWICH GIFREI	Vbiii	2	NOR		1.43, 1.23
WINCHESTER ADAM	Vbii	1	WINC		1.42*
BARTELME	Vbii	1	W		1.43
GOCELM	IIIb	1	WI		1.45*
RAUF	Vc	1	WINC		1.42*
YORK EVERARD	IIIa	1	EV		1.06*
IMITATIONS VICARE	—	1	— VICAR . E . ONV	See Fig. 1	1.37*
—	—	1	— L[VND]E CIVITAS	See Fig. 2	1.28*

A. PENNIES (cont.):

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Mint Reading</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Weight(s)</i>
IRELAND DUBLIN ROBERD	—	1	ROBE RDON DIVE		1.48
SCOTLAND ROXBURGH PERIS ADAM	Head r.	1	PERISADAMONRO	WIL[EL]MUSREX	1.41
GERMANY FREDERICK II	Chautard 305	1	RO[M]ANUS . REXI	REXFRIDERI— See Fig. 3	1.22*



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

B. CUT HALFPENNIES

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Reverse Reading</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Weight</i>
LONDON ABEL	VI, b?	+ ABE ————— NDE		0.72*
ILGER	V or VI VII	+ ILGER . C ————— + ILGERO —————		0.57 0.75
PIERES or PIERES . M	Ib	+ PIEI ————— . LVN		0.70*
RAU(L)F	Vc VIb- VIbi	+ RA ————— NDE VF . ON . LV ————— + RAVLF . —————		0.74* 0.65 0.53*
RENER	V, bi?	+ RE ————— VND		0.69
Uncertain	VIai VIc VII VII	————— ER . ON . L ————— ————— ? ————— I . LVNDE + ————— A - DONL ————— ————— NLVNDE +	Ilger or Rener Ricard?	0.66 0.61 0.71 0.78
CANTERBURY ARNAUD	Vbii	+ ARNAV —————		0.82
ROGER	VII VII	+ ROC ————— ANT —————)ERONC —————		0.68 0.69

B. CUT HALFPENNIES (*cont.*):

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Reverse Reading</i>	<i>Remarks</i>	<i>Weight</i>
ROGER . OF . R	VII	+ - OG —————)NC		0.68
	VII	————— OF . R . ONC I		0.82
	VII	—————)F . R . ONCA I		0.57*
	VII	————— F . R . ONCA I		0.65
SALEMUN	VII	————— LEMVNC —————		0.62
SIMUN	VII	————— VNONCAI —————		0.71
WALTER	VIb or c	+ WAL ————— CAN		0.52
Uncertain	VII	————— ONCANT I		0.58
CHICHESTER				
SIMON	Vbii or c	+ SIM ————— CE .		0.67*
CARLISLE				
ALAIN	IIIa	————— N . ON . —————	Dies identified by Mr. M. R. Allen	0.59
NORTHAMPTON or NORWICH				
Uncertain	Vc*	—————)N . NOR I	'X'	0.63
OXFORD				
Uncertain	Ib	————— ON . OXEN I		0.64
WINCHESTER				
BARTELME	Vbii	I BARTEI —————		0.65
Uncertain	Vbii	————— N . WINCE I		0.64
UNCERTAIN				
ADAM	Vb-	————— AM . ON —————	London, Northampton or Winchester	0.66
IOHAN (or Iohan . B or Iohan . M)	Vbiii	I IOHAN . —————	London, Canterbury, Exeter, Ipswich, (Lincoln), Lynn, Norwich, Winchester, or York	0.69
WALTER	V or VI	I WALTER —————	London or Canterbury	0.49
Uncertain	post 1204	No letters visible		0.75
SCOTLAND				
ROXBURGH				
Uncertain	Head r.	————— FOCE . I	Obv. Burns Fig. 42A?	0.50
UNCERTAIN				
Uncertain	Head l.		Obv. similar to Burns Fig. 40D	0.47
	Head r.	No letters visible	Crude 'Hue Walter' type	0.69

EDWARDIAN STERLINGS IN THE 1900 BERSCAR (CLOSEBURN) FIND

IAN STEWART

ON Christmas Eve, 1900 a substantial hoard of sterlings of the Edwardian period was discovered at Berscar Farm, Closeburn, Dumfriesshire. A detailed list of the coins was published by Adam Richardson,¹ the English element being classified according to the arrangement worked out by Burns in connection with the (much larger) Montrave hoard. A concordance between the Burns classification and that of the Fox brothers, which has been the standard reference for the series since it appeared, has recently been published, together with a summary of the contents of the Montrave hoard according to the Fox classification.² The purpose of the present paper is to treat, so far as is possible, the contents of the Berscar hoard in a similar way. Unfortunately, three other important hoards of the period found in Scotland at the beginning of this century, before the Fox classification was published, were not listed according to Burns but by classifications devised specially for the purpose by Macdonald;³ a good deal of significant information can be obtained from these three hoards too by reconstructing their contents according to Fox but that is a matter for separate treatment on another occasion.

According to Richardson, 1,376 coins from Berscar were submitted to the authorities,⁴ but his list contains one fewer of Bury than his summary, and the contents as listed were as follows:

English, regular (1286)		Newcastle	17
London	630	York	32
Canterbury	357	Illegible, English type	28
Durham	147	Berwick (English)	31
Bury	61	Scottish,	
Bristol	27	Alexander III	5
Chester	2	John Balliol	2
Exeter	2	Robert Bruce	1
Kingston	1	Irish	3
Lincoln	10	Continental	19
			<hr/> 1,375 <hr/>

¹ Richardson, A. B., 'Notice of the Find of Coins at Closeburn, Dumfriesshire', *PSAS* xxxv, 1901, 639-59. Mr. W. F. Cormack has kindly pointed out to me that the name Berscar, by which this find is generally known, is apparently an error. James Davidson used the spelling Berscar in 'Coin Finds of Dumfriesshire and Galloway' (*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxvi, p. 107) and this is the form on the Ordnance Survey Map.

² Tatler, G. L. V., and Stewart, B. H. I. H., 'Edwardian Sterlings in the Montrave Hoard', *BNJ* xxxi (1963),

80-7. On p. 87, total of IVd should be 220.

³ MacDonald, (Sir) George, 'A Hoard of Edward Pennies Found at Lochmaben' and 'Two Hoards of Edward Pennies Recently Found in Scotland' (Blackhills and Mellendean, 1911), *NC* 4th ser., v (1905), 63-82 and xiii (1913), 57-118.

⁴ For a parcel of eight possible strays from the hoard, including an Aquitaine denier, see Stewart, 'A Group of Sterlings from Closeburn', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd ser., xlv (1968), 243-4.

The English coins from Berscar are listed at the end of this paper in two pairs of columns, that on the left showing the numbers of each Burns variety as originally recorded, that on the right the postulated Fox equivalents. In order to facilitate comparison with the coins from Montrave as tabulated according to Burns,⁵ the Berscar coins have been similarly tabulated here (Table 6). It is apparent from the figures given by Richardson for the several varieties that he had some difficulty in following the Burns classification exactly, and the proportions contained in other hoards will normally illustrate this. The Montrave hoard itself is an obvious point of reference, having originally been listed by the same arrangement. But it was buried substantially later than Berscar and the lapse of time apparently had an effect on relative proportions. In order to demonstrate this, summaries of three other finds as well as of the Berscar and Montrave hoards (Tables 3 and 4) are given according to the main Fox groups: the 1935 Boyton hoard (Table 1), buried in the 1320s, late in group XV but lacking XVd; the 1966 Loch Doon hoard (Table 2), with a single coin of XVd; and the 1967 Danish find from Kirial (Table 5), which contained English coins as late as the mid 1360s.⁶

Much the most serious of Richardson's problems in following the Burns classification concerned varieties A42 to A49, from late group X to group XV according to Fox, that is, effectively the whole of the coinage allotted to Edward II. Except for the Durham mint, where the episcopal marks appropriate to this period were available as a guide, he managed to classify only three coins of Bury and two of Canterbury as falling between A42 and A49 inclusive. It is clear that all the other coins of this period have been lumped in with A40, reading EDWARR (Xb and later XI onwards), and A39, reading EDWAR (middle and later X; and earlier XI). It is not necessary to examine all the points at which Richardson's interpretation of the Burns classification may have been inexact; one example will serve, but other points have received comment in the

	BRISTOL			CANTERBURY		
<i>Burns/Fox</i>	<i>Berscar</i>	<i>Montrave</i>	<i>Doon</i>	<i>Berscar</i>	<i>Montrave</i>	<i>Doon</i>
A14-15/IIIc-d	15	64	12	44	52	5
A18/III f	0	9	0	0	3	1
A16-17/III g	0	38	8	0	66	13
A19-23, 25/IVa-c	—	—	—	0	166	33
	15	111	20	44	287	52
	LINCOLN			LONDON		
<i>Burns/Fox</i>	<i>Berscar</i>	<i>Montrave</i>	<i>Doon</i>	<i>Berscar</i>	<i>Montrave</i>	<i>Doon</i>
A14-15/IIIc-d	10	42	3	77	222	34
A18/III f	0	7	1	1	20	2
A16-17/III g	0	44	8	9	175	30
A19-23, 25/IVa-c	—	—	—	11	345	54
	10	93	12	98	762	120

⁵ *BNJ* xxxi, 86.

⁶ Boyton, *NC* 5th ser., xvi (1936), 115-54; Doon,

BNJ xxxviii (1969), 31-49; Kirial, *NNA* 1970, 37-168.

Mules are listed according to the later die.

lists. The Berscar figures for A14-15 (IIIc-d) at London, Canterbury, Bristol, and Lincoln are inflated: they almost certainly include some of A16-17 (IIIg) and, at the two main mints, of A19-23 and A25 (IVa-c), as can be seen from the comparison with the Montrave and Loch Doon figures set out above.

One of the most interesting features of the Berscar hoard was the presence (if properly described) of no less than six coins of Burns A50, Fox XVd, the very rare heavy pennies of Edward III, the minting of which was revived after a lapse in the 1320s. All mints except Durham are represented, Bury apparently by two specimens, although only one can today be located, that in the British Museum from Montrave, and only one other is on record (noted by Lawrence as being from the same hoard). Bury received dies in 1329. Pennies were struck at Canterbury between Michaelmas 1328 and 1329 and again between January and Michaelmas 1331; and at London between February 1329 and September 1330. At York a Keeper of the Exchange was not appointed until August 1331, but the date of closure is not known exactly; it may have been before Michaelmas 1333, the closing date of the last surviving account. The A50 penny of York thus gives a burial date for the hoard of autumn 1331 or later. The absence from the hoard of any specimen of A50 of Durham alone, the most northerly English mint, could perhaps be seen as favouring a later rather than an earlier dating for these easily recognizable coins, although the total number of identified examples of A50 in the hoard is far too small to permit very much weight to be given to such an argument from this evidence alone.

In spite of the doubts over parts of the classification, the Berscar figures provide useful material for comparison, and it is also interesting to take into account the Kirial hoard. It has been demonstrated, in the report on the Loch Doon hoard, that in hoards buried from the 1320s onwards, which can be regarded as containing a cross-section of the currency of the time, the percentages of each mint are remarkably consistent. Kirial is entirely typical in this respect and Berscar only remarkable for being slightly above quota in coins of Bury and York and slightly below—the only hoard analysed to have less than 50 per cent—in coins of London. Chronologically the picture is as follows:

<i>Fox Groups</i>	<i>Group XV hoards</i>			<i>Later hoards</i>	
	<i>Boyton</i> %	<i>Doon</i> %	<i>Berscar</i> %	<i>Montrave</i> %	<i>Kirial</i> %
I-V	20.0	21.4	21.5	27.6	29.3
VI-IXa	2.1	3.1	2.1	3.5	2.5
IXb	9.7	10.2	10.0	9.3	8.7
X-XV	68.1	61.9	66.4	59.6	59.2
Uncertain	2.4	0.1			0.4

These figures suggest that hoards buried in the 1360s should contain a much higher proportion of pre-1300 coins, a paradox more easily understood if expressed in the opposite way: that the group XV hoards have an abnormally high representation of the more recent issues, groups IXb to XV, the coins of which were struck in large quantities from 1300 to the early 1320s, whereas these coins had long been out of

TABLE 1
Contents of the Boyton Hoard (c. 1325) arranged according to Fox

	Fox Groups																
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	Uncertain	Total
BRISTOL		12	47						27								86
BURY			7	2				1	5	60	33	2	15	39	20	4	188
CANTERBURY		4	44	111	2				55	478	161	8	42	117	122		1,144
CHESTER			5						3								8
DURHAM		11	8	7	1				33	142	80	7	11	14	12	3	329
EXETER									5								5
KINGSTON									6								6
LINCOLN			14														14
LONDON	56	44	147	195	5	1	6	18	235	906	185	4	25	54	77		1,958
NEWCASTLE			7						16	23							46
YORK		5	37						30								72
UNCERTAIN										2							2
TOTAL	56	76	316	315	8	1	6	19	415	1,611	459	21	93	224	231	7	3,858

TABLE 2
Contents of the Loch Doon Hoard (c. 1332) arranged according to Fox

	Fox Groups																
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	Uncertain	Total
BRISTOL		8	20						12								40
BURY			3	4				1	5	18	7		4	10	10		62
CANTERBURY		2	20	47	3				23	209	68	3	24	26	35	15	475
CHESTER									1								1
DURHAM		1	5	4	1				19	71	35		7	5	19	11	178
EXETER									4								4
KINGSTON									6								6
LINCOLN			12														12
LONDON	19	30	71	91	7	2	2	28	106	385	80	3	14	16	19	13	886
NEWCASTLE			3						7	12							22
YORK		4	14						13						1		32
UNCERTAIN																4	4
TOTAL	19	45	148	146	11	2	2	29	196	695	190	6	49	57	84	43	1,722

TABLE 3
Contents of the Berscar Hoard (c. 1335?) arranged according to Fox

	Fox Groups														
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI-XII	XIII-XIV	XV	Total	
BRISTOL		2	15						10					27	
BURY			1	1					3	51			5	61	
CANTERBURY		1	45	8					19	280	2		2	357	
CHESTER			1						1					2	
DURHAM		1	9	5	1				14	75	22	11	9	147	
EXETER									2					2	
KINGSTON									1					1	
LINCOLN			10											10	
LONDON	6	19	91	37	1		5	8	69	393			1	630	
NEWCASTLE			4						11	2				17	
YORK		3	15						13				1	32	
TOTAL	6	26	191	51	2		5	8	143	801	24	11	18	1,286	

TABLE 4
Contents of the Montrave Hoard (c. 1360) arranged according to Fox

	Fox Groups														
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI-XII	XIII	XIV	XV	Total
BRISTOL		42	119						54						215
BURY			4	18	1		1	1	16	112	61	38	66	25	343
CANTERBURY		13	126	281	14		4	1	124	989	349	87	180	38	2,206
CHESTER			5						5						10
DURHAM		14	51	23	1	1			76	288	137	18	31	28	668
EXETER									15						15
KINGSTON									17						17
LINCOLN			93												93
LONDON	82	187	468	527	37	10	18	97	530	1,830	391	46	103	36	4,362
NEWCASTLE			25						20	61					106
YORK		25	112						55					2	194
TOTAL	82	281	1,003	849	53	11	23	99	912	3,280	938	189	380	129	8,229

TABLE 5
Contents of the Kirial Hoard (c. 1365) arranged according to Fox

Fox Groups																	Total	%
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	Uncertain		
BRISTOL		7	47						3								57	3.2
BURY				3		1			1	26	13		8	4	6		62	3.5
CANTERBURY		1	23	68	2	1	2		30	223	53	6	22	9	20	6	466	26.2
CHESTER			3														3	0.2
DURHAM		3	7	5					14	97	31	1	16	3	13	1	191	10.7
EXETER									3								3	0.2
KINGSTON									1								1	0.1
LINCOLN			14														14	0.8
LONDON	22	42	115	107	6	3	4	23	90	398	57	1	11	3	27		909	51.1
NEWCASTLE			7						13	3							23	1.3
YORK		6	33						10								49	2.8
UNCERTAIN										2							2	
TOTAL	22	59	249	183	8	5	6	23	165	749	154	8	57	19	66	7	1,780	

TABLE 6
Contents of the Berscar Hoard arranged according to Burns

	Burns Varieties																																																	Total
	1	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	13	14-15	16-17	18	19	21	22	26	27	28	29	30	31	33-34	35-36	37	38	39	40	41	44	45	46	46-48	49	50																
BRISTOL					2					15															10											27														
BURY ST EDMUNDS											1			1											3	1	19	31					3		2	61														
CANTERBURY				1		1				44						4	4							1	18	10	88	181	1			1	1		2	357														
CHESTER											1													1											2															
DURHAM					1				5	3	1							5		1					14	6	5	62	2	21		2	10	9	147															
EXETER																								2										2																
KINGSTON																									1										1															
LINCOLN										10																									10															
LONDON	6	7	6	6	2		1	1		77	9	1	4		7	22	4		1		5	8	13	56	21	69	294	9						1	630															
NEWCASTLE									4																11	2									17															
YORK				3	5					1	9														13									1	32															
TOTAL	6	7	6	13	2	6	1	1	10	158	12	1	4	1	7	26	8	5	1	1	5	8	14	129	40	181	568	12	21	1	3	13	9	6	1,286															

issue by the time that the Montrave and Kirial hoards were buried and their relative abundance in currency hoards had gradually declined.

In addition to the regular English coins in the Berscar hoard, there were 31 English coins of Berwick⁷ (2.4 per cent of the total of the regular English mints), three Dublin pence of Edward I, five second-coinage sterlings of Alexander III,⁸ two sterlings of Balliol's second issue,⁹ one of Bruce,¹⁰ and nineteen continental coins of sterling type.¹¹ Amongst these last was one of Louis of Bavaria of the mint of Aix, with the title *Imperator* which he obtained in 1328; this coin substantiates a date of burial within the reign of Edward III, and gives some confidence in the accuracy of Richardson's description of coins of Burns A50.

LIST OF EDWARDIAN STERLINGS IN THE 1900 BERSCAR FIND

<i>Total</i>	<i>Burns Nos.</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Fox Groups</i>	<i>Total</i>
BRISTOL				
2	A5		IIb	2
15	A14-15	Probably includes IIIg	IIIc-d	15
8	A37	Star	IXb	8
2	A37	No star	IXb	2
27				27
BURY ST. EDMUNDS				
1	A16-17	Robert de Hadeleie	IIIg	1
1	A21		IVa-c	1
3	A37	Star	IXb	3
1	A38		Xa	1
19	A39		Xb	19
31	A40		Xc-f	31
3	'A50'	A50 but Roman N's and no pellet stops	XVa-c	3
2	A50	Obv. with Gothic n?	XVd	2
61				61

⁷ From the details given by Richardson for his nos. 139-50, it is possible to make some guesses (which may of course be wrong) as to the Blunt classes to which they belonged: class Ia, 2 coins (R. 139, 143); Ib, 2 (145); II, 1 (144); IIIa or IVa, 1 (140); IVa, 6 (141, 148, 149); IVb, 7 (147); IVc, 11 (142, 146); V, 1 (150).

⁸ All with 24 points reverse. Burns group I, class II?, colon before *Alexander*, cf. B. fig. 147; gp. I, cl. III, cf. Richardson, *N.M.A. Cat.* 28 (as B. fig. 151 but *Gra*); gp. II, cl. II, cf. *N.M.A. Cat.* 48 (B. fig. 169); gp. II, cl. III/II, cf. *N.M.A. Cat.* 79 (B. fig. 183); Balliol type, cf. *N.M.A. Cat.* 106, *Dei Gr* (B. fig. 209).

⁹ B. fig. 219.

¹⁰ B. fig. 225.

¹¹ Brabant, John I, 1261-94, Limburg (Chautard VIII, 10), 1 coin; Flanders, Robert de Bethune, 1305-22, Alost (Chautard III, 2 etc.), 5; Germany, Louis IV of Bavaria, Emperor 1314-47, Aix (Chautard XXII, 4), 1; Guelders, Raynold I, 1272-1326, Arnhem (Chautard XXXI, 4), 1; Hainault, Jean II d'Avesnes, 1280-1304, Valenciennes (Chautard IV, 1), 1; Ligny, Waleran II, 1304-53, Serain, crowned head facing in circle (cf. Chautard XVIII, 4) 2; head in triangle (Chautard XVIII, 3), 1; Luxemburg, John the Blind, 1309-46 (Chautard XV, 10), 2; Porcien, Gaucher of Châtillon, 1303-29, Yves (cf. Chautard XIX, 3), 4; Neuf-Château (cf. Chautard XIX, 4), 1.

<i>Total</i>	<i>Burns Nos.</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Fox Groups</i>	<i>Total</i>
CANTERBURY				
1	A5		IIb	1
1	A7		IIIb	1
44	A14-15	Includes vars. to A25, IVc	IIIc-d	44
4	A26		IVd	4
4	A27		IVe	4
1	A36	Star	IXa	1
7	A37	Star	IXb	7
11	A37	No star	IXb	11
8	A38		Xa	8
2	A38	Edwr R	Xb	2
88	A39		Xb	88
181	A40 }	Must include A42-9, later X to XVc	Xc-f	182
1	A41 }			
1	A45			
1	A46		XIc-XII+	1
2	A50	Gothic n	XVd	2
<hr/> 357				<hr/> 357
CHESTER				
1	A16-17		IIIg	1
1	A37	No star	IXb	1
<hr/> 2				<hr/> 2
DURHAM				
1	A5		IIb	1
5	A13	Northern var.	IIIe	5
3	A14-15		IIIc	3
1	A16-17		IIIg	1
5	A28	Annulet-moline cross, no pellets on breast	IVb-c	5
1	A30		V	1
1	A37	Moline cross; star	IXb	1
4	A37	—; no star	IXb	4
9	A37	plain cross; no star	IXb	9
6	A38		Xa	6
2	A39	plain cross }	Xb	2
3	A39	moline cross }		3
16	A40	plain cross }	Xc-f	16
46	A40	moline cross }		46
2	A41	moline cross }		2
21	A44	Crozier	XIa-b	21
1	A46	A of XIc; crozier	XIc	1
1	A46	Crozier	XII or XIII	1
10	A46-8	Lion and lis	XIII-XIV	10
9	A49		XVa-c	9
<hr/> 147				<hr/> 147

<i>Total</i>	<i>Burns Nos.</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Fox Groups</i>	<i>Total</i>
EXETER				
2	A37	Star	IXb	2
KINGSTON-UPON-HULL				
1	A37	Star	IXb	1
LINCOLN				
10	A14-15	Probably includes IIIg	IIIc-d	10
LONDON				
6	A1	Roman N	Ic	6
7	A3	}	IIa	13
6	A4		IIb	6
6	A5		IIIa	2
2	A6		IIIb	1
1	A8		III var.	1
1	A11	Not distinguished by Fox	IIIc-d	1
77	A14-15	Probably includes later vars. to A25, IVc	IIIc-d	77
9	A16-17		IIIg	9
1	A18		IIIh	1
4	A19	}	IVa-c	11
7	A22		IVd	22
22	A26		IVe/d	1
1	A27/26		IVe	3
3	A27		V	1
1	A29		VII	5
5	A31		VIII	8
8	A33-34		IXa	10
10	A35-36	Star	IXa	3
3	A35-36	No star	IXb	27
27	A37	Star	IXb	29
29	A37	No star	Xa/IXb	10
10	A38/37		Xa	7
7	A38		Xb	4
4	A38	Edwr R	Xb/IXb	4
4	A39/37		Xb	65
65	A39		Xc-f	303
294	A40	} Must include A42-9, later X to XVc	Xc-f	1
9	A41		XVd	1
1	A50	Gothic n		
630				630
NEWCASTLE				
4	A13	Northern var.	IIIe	4
7	A37	Star	IXb	7
4	A37	No star	IXb	4
2	A38		Xa	2
17				17

<i>Total</i>	<i>Burns Nos.</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Fox Groups</i>	<i>Total</i>
		YORK		
3	A5		IIb	3
5	A7		IIIb	5
1	A13	Quatrefoil	IIIe	1
9	A14-15		IIIc	9
4	A37	Star	IXb	4
1	A37	Star; quatrefoil	IXb	1
8	A37	No star	IXb	8
1	A49-50	Gothic n	XVd	1
<hr/> 32				<hr/> 32

THE TOWER SHILLINGS OF CHARLES I AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE ABERYSTWYTH ISSUE¹

M. B. SHARP

THE issue of shillings at the Tower Mint during the reign of Charles I is the most varied for the denomination in British numismatic history. Since Grant Francis published his paper on the subject in Volume XIV of this *Journal* a number of further varieties and indeed one or two new types have become apparent. Some have been published whilst others have come, without publication, to be recognized by students of the series. This paper attempts to bring the recording of the series up to date.

There are over thirty portraits and some twenty reverse types. In addition some two dozen mintmarks were used. These were often cut over one another and overmarks are therefore only mentioned when of particular significance, for example, when an obverse or reverse type is known only with an overcut mark. The abbreviation of the obverse legend varies throughout the series. The reverse legend CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO is constant, but the type of harp used for the Irish arms varies considerably. The form of punctuation also changes, but to a lesser extent. These aspects reflect the number of dies used in this extensive series and distract attention from the establishment of a type sequence. This is not to say that their study may not be rewarding, however.

This paper is therefore one of type rather than die enumeration. Obverse and reverse types have been listed in group form for reference and, it is hoped, for ready assimilation of any further types that may be discovered. The paper concludes with a study of the relationship in style between the shillings of the Tower and Aberystwyth mints.

Group A embraces Francis's types I and Ib and contains two bust and three reverse types. The first bust (Pl. V, 1) is found only with the first reverse and the first mintmark, the lys. The King is portrayed in a ruff, which takes a horizontal line behind his head, rich ermine robes and a double arched crown with both arches jewelled. The second bust (Pl. V, 2) is similar but the ruff is clearly fuller and the crown of different dimension with jewels on the upper arch only. The band of the crown is, however, more richly jewelled than that on the first bust.

The first reverse (Pl. V, 3) has a cross fourchée over a square-topped shield bearing the royal arms. There are minor varieties of the cross ends (compare illus. 3 and 12). The second reverse (Pl. V, 4) was not recorded by Francis and I have noted only one example of it: it resembles the first reverse but the cross over the shield is of the type used on a number of the laurels of James I. Possibly a laurel cross punch was used in

¹ The kind help given by Messrs. J. M. Ashby, A. O. Chater, and B. R. Osborne, Professor Anne Robertson and the Trustees of the British Museum in the preparation of this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

error in the preparation of the die but since halfcrowns of Francis's types 1a and 1b occur with shield garniture of the type found on the unites of James I, it may instead be that an attempt was made to retain some of the features of his coinage. There is no cross on the third reverse (Pl. V, 5) which shows the shield surmounted by Welsh plumes contained in a coronet and with a band of ribbon. These plumes denote that the coins were struck from Welsh silver, a further feature continued from the coinage of the previous reign.

Two mintmarks were used on coins of this group, the lys from 7th July, 1625 and cross on steps from 29th June, 1626. Obverses with the latter mark seem invariably to show this cut over the former, a point which Francis recorded.

The incidence of obverse and reverse types within the group is as follows:

<i>Obverse</i>		<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Mintmarks</i>
1	found with	1	lys
2		1	lys, cross on steps
2		2	lys
2		3	lys, cross on steps

Some of the A2/1 coins with the cross on steps mark are of the lightweight issue of 80 grains as opposed to 92.75 grains, following the commission of 11th August, 1626. Die links are known for coins of both weights. Francis and Symonds considered the lightweight coins were struck for a period of only five weeks. Since the next group contains a lightweight issue also, it is perhaps reasonable to conclude that September 1626 saw the introduction of coins belonging to it.

Francis recorded only one reverse die for A2/3 coins with the lys mark. Comparison of the illustration (Pl. V, 5) with the catalogue illustration of the Ryan specimen² reveals another.

The main feature of the coins of *Group B* (Francis types 1a and 1c) is the change of portrait style, the king being depicted in ruff, armour, mantle and a fully jewelled crown. There are five distinct bust types of this style. The mantle on the first (Pl. V, 6) has a sharply concave appearance, whilst on the second bust (Pl. V, 8) it is convex. Note that the upper arches of the crowns on these portraits are very richly jewelled. These busts were concurrent to a considerable extent but the first is more frequently encountered with the cross on steps mark and only rarely with the later marks negro's head and castle. Some coins of the first bust type occur with a small mark of value (Pl. V, 7). The third bust (Pl. V, 9) is distinguishable by the presence of only eight pearls on the upper arch of the crown. This bust is usually contained by the inner circle but does occasionally break it at 6 o'clock. The fourth bust (Pl. V, 10) is very similar to the larger version of the third but has ten pearls to the upper arch of the crown. The fifth bust (Pl. V, 11) is clearly the largest of the group and invariably extends to the edge of the coin. The crown, slightly flatter than on previous types, is again richly jewelled.

There are three reverse types. The first (Pl. V, 12) and second (Pl. V, 13) are clearly continued from Group A (A1 and A3). The third (Pl. V, 14) is a combination of these having Welsh plumes above the shield and cross ends at 3, 6 and 9 o'clock. Cross ends are less varied than those of Group A (Pl. V, 12 being the norm for Group B).

The plumes on the reverses of the second type vary considerably. There are

² Glendining 23. I, 1952 lot 1101.

differences in size, the amount of stem visible below the coronet and the ribbon ends may be plain or forked. A series of varieties from Groups A and B is illustrated (Pl. IX, 73-78). Two which occur only with mintmark plumes are worth special comment. One (Pl. IX, 77) has the distinction of having pearls instead of lys on the coronet; the other (Pl. IX, 78) has plumes of a smaller and neater style more in keeping with the plumes on coins of the next group (C).

Six mintmarks were used for the coins of Group B: cross on steps, negro's head (from 29 June 1626), castle (27 April 1627), anchor (3 July 1628), heart (26 June 1629) and plumes (23 June 1630).

The negro's head mark occurs in two sizes, large (Pl. IX, 79) and small (Pl. IX, 80).

There are four forms of the castle mark: the first (Pl. IX, 81) is fairly squat with large irregularly shaped apertures, the second (Pl. IX, 82) is smaller and more regular in appearance, although it is sometimes found double cut vertically, showing two rows of battlements, the third (Pl. IX, 83) is waisted and seems invariably to occur double cut vertically, the fourth (Pl. IX, 84) has a bulbous base which is horizontally lineated. This variety is normally found on reverses, being quite rare as an obverse mark.

The anchor mark takes two forms occurring with rounded (Pl. IX, 85) and straight flukes (Pl. IX, 86). The former is sometimes horizontal (to right—usually over castle) as a reverse mark. The latter, like the bulbous castle mark, occurs more frequently as a reverse mark. There is, however, a particularly large version of it (Pl. IX, 87) which occurs as an overcut obverse mark, the earlier mark (probably castle) having been totally obliterated. Incidentally both forms of the anchor mark are to be found on the shillings of Elizabeth I.

The incidence of bust and reverse types is as follows:

Bust 1 occurs with reverses 1 and 2 with m.m.s. cross on steps, negro's head and castle

Bust 2 likewise and in addition with reverse 2, m.m. anchor and with reverse 3, m.m. negro's head

Bust 3 with reverse 2, m.m. anchor

Bust 4 with reverse 2, m.m.s. anchor and heart (over anchor obv.)

Bust 5 with reverse 2, m.m.s. heart and plumes.

Some of the B1/1 coins with the cross on steps mark are of the lightweight issue, a factor which provides confirmation of the sequence of the first and second busts. Some of the reverses of types 1 and 2 die link with coins of Group A, having been directly carried on in the case of dies with the cross mark or in the case of the lys dies with the cross mark overcut. There do not appear to be any coins of the lightweight issue of either Group A or B struck from Welsh silver. However, coins with the last three marks, anchor, heart and plumes were struck only from Welsh silver.

Group C (Francis types 2a and 2b). Coins of this group present a complete change of design. Francis recorded one bust and two reverse types. There are, however, three bust and six reverse types, but before dealing with these it is necessary to pay attention to a Francis type 2b coin with the heart mintmark (Pl. V, 15). This coin, which Hawkins recorded,³ is in my opinion clearly a pattern. There appear to be only two examples, one in the British Museum (illustrated), the other in the Ashmolean. It is interesting to note its unite equivalent.⁴ The flattish crown is continued from the last

³ E. Hawkins, *The Silver Coins of England*, 1887, p. 342.

⁴ H. Schneider, *BNJ* xxviii (1955-7), Pls. XVI, XVII, Nos. 18, 19.

bust of Group B, but the style is otherwise very different. The first bust of the regular coins of this group (Pl. V, 16) closely resembles that of the pattern but the armour on the shoulder is riveted whereas that on the prototype is plain. Obverses with this bust all seem to be from the same die with the mintmark plumes cut over heart. This overmark was published by Mr. Ashby⁵ from a coin of Francis type 2a. It is now known for Francis 2b also. A true m.m. heart coin has not been recorded and probably does not exist. A m.m. plumes over heart reverse is also conspicuous by its absence. From the foregoing and with the evidence of the neat style of the last of the coins from Group B, it is evident that the transition to Group C was not a clean cut one.

On the second bust (Pl. V, 17) the crown is more full, the shoulder armour plain and the mantle tied differently. The third bust (Pl. V, 18) is similar but the crown is larger and the mantle tied with a bigger loop. This seems to occur only on coins of superior workmanship—an aspect which receives attention later in this paper.

The reverses of Groups A and B are replaced by a series with an oval garnished shield with the letters CR at the top. These sometimes break the inner circle. Three are without Welsh plumes and three with and it is in this order, one of basic type rather than in strict order of occurrence, that I propose to deal with them. The first shows the oval shield with a rather plain garniture⁶ and the letters CR divided by a lys. Two reverses of this type have been illustrated to show a feature of the coins from early dies with the plume mark, the presence of pellets in the field (Pl. VI, 19) and their subsequent absence (Pl. VI, 20). A number of pellets are sometimes found around the lys also and one is mindful of the rare 2a halfcrowns which have a rose between CR. This was (quickly?) overcut by a lys from which stamens appear to emanate as a result. These seem to have developed into pellets, a feature probably then adopted on the shilling dies, as none is known with rose between CR. The second reverse (Pl. VI, 21) omits the lys, perhaps just an oversight. The lys returns on the third reverse (Pl. VI, 22) taking a much taller form on some examples, probably from later dies (Pl. VI, 23). Both second and third reverses differ from the first in that they have what appears to be a rose petal turned over and through the base of the shield.

The fourth reverse (Pl. VI, 24) is perhaps distinguished more by its ornate garniture than for the Welsh plumes above the shield. The fifth reverse (Pl. VI, 25) has the rose petal garniture and the sixth (Pl. VI, 26) the plain garniture. This reverse has been placed last, despite its occurrence on the pattern m.m. heart because as a regular issue it occurs only with the rose mark.

There were only two mintmarks for the group, plumes and rose (introduced 30 June 1631).

The incidence of bust and reverse types is as follows:

Bust 1 occurs with reverses 1 and 4, m.m. plumes (over heart *obv.*)

Bust 2 with reverse 1, m.m.s. plumes and rose

with reverses 2 and 3, m.m. rose

with reverse 4, m.m.s. plumes and rose (over plumes *rev.*)

with reverse 5, m.m.s. plumes and rose (over plumes *rev.*)

and with reverse 6, m.m. rose

Bust 3 is known only with reverse 5, m.m. plumes.

⁵ J. M. Ashby, *BNJ* xxx (1960-1), p. 377.

⁶ Adopted from the shillings of Philip and Mary.

Coins of *Group D* (Francis 3 and 3b) reflect another complete change of design. The King is shown wearing a lace collar and ribbon, presumably that of the garter, over armour of improved style. Although a number of minor portrait varieties exist, six basic types are evident. The crown on the first three is high arched and richly jewelled, whereas on the other three the arches are flatter and plain. The front arch of the crown on the first bust (Pl. VI, 27) breaks the inner circle. On the second bust (Pl. VI, 28) which is slightly larger, both arches break the circle. The third bust (Pl. VI, 29) is clearly much larger than its predecessors and the crown not only breaks the inner circle but extends almost to the edge of the coin. The coin illustrated has the m.m. portcullis, not recorded by Francis for this portrait, which is the only one of the jewelled crown portraits to occur with this mark. The fourth bust (Pl. VI, 30) is much smaller and the plain arched crown evident for the first time in the group. Francis recorded only two examples of this bust with the harp mark but today coins of this type and mark can only be rated scarce. The fifth bust (Pl. VI, 31) is larger with the nose and forehead rather pronounced. The sixth bust (Pl. VI, 32) is very small and much neater by comparison.

With the incidence of six portrait types in the group it is perhaps surprising that there should be only two reverse types. These have an oval scroll garnished shield between the letters CR. The only difference being the absence of Welsh plumes on the first (Pl. VI, 33) and their presence over the shield on the second (Pl. VI, 34). Francis recorded only two specimens of the latter. To date I have seen six, all from the same reverse die. Four have the first portrait and are obverse die duplicates. The other two are of the third bust type but from different obverse dies.

There are two mintmarks for the group: harp (introduced 21 June 1632) and portcullis (11 July 1633). There are seven forms of the harp mark, three birdheaded (Pl. IX, 88-90) and four plain (Pl. IX, 91-94).

The incidence of types is as follows:

Bust 1 with reverses 1 and 2, m.m. harp

Bust 2 with reverse 1, m.m. harp

Bust 3 with reverse 1, m.m.s. harp and portcullis and with reverse 2, m.m. harp

Bust 4 with reverse 1, m.m.s. harp and portcullis

Busts 5 and 6 with reverse 1, m.m. portcullis.

A shilling with reverse 2, m.m. portcullis is unknown and it would, therefore, appear that this mark was the only one not to have been used in the production of shillings from Welsh silver at the Tower prior to the opening of the Mint at Aberystwyth.

Coins of *Group E* (Francis 3a and 3c) are distinctive because of the absence of inner circles, although 'wire line' circles are occasionally met. These in all probability were drawn as an aid to the punching of legends during die manufacture.

There are five portrait and three reverse types. The first portrait (Pl. VI, 35) is quite large and clearly taken from the pattern with the portcullis mark (Pl. VI, 36). The second bust (Pl. VI, 37) is much smaller and is carried over from the previous group (D6). This is really the principle bust for the group being the only one to occur with all the reverses and mint marks within it. The third portrait (Pl. VII, 38) is slightly taller than the second and the crown sits straighter on the King's head. The fourth

bust (Pl. VII, 39) is larger and of a very crude style. Unfortunately coins of this type, which are quite scarce, tend to occur in a fairly worn state—hence the rather inadequate illustration. However, the length of the profile and the lace on the collar are distinctive features. The fifth portrait (Pl. VII, 40) is very different again but still shows the King in armour and with a double arched crown.

The first reverse (Pl. VII, 41) has a large almost round shield with scroll garniture. The workmanship is crude by comparison with the second reverse (Pl. VII, 42) on which the shield is smaller and neater. The central panel of the garniture at the base of the shield is plain, lacking the horizontal lines of the earlier type. The shield is similar on the third reverse (Pl. VII, 43) but has the Welsh plumes over it. These are a little larger than those on coins of Groups C and D.

Three mintmarks occur: bell (introduced 27 June 1634)—this sometimes takes a large form, crown (18 June 1635) and tun (14 February 1636—new style).

The incidence of types is as follows:

Bust 1 is found with reverse 1, m.m. bell and with reverse 2, m.m. tun

Bust 2 with reverse 1, m.m. crown (over bell *rev.*) and with reverses 2 and 3, all marks

Busts 3, 4 and 5 occur only with the 2nd reverse, m.m. tun.

E1/1 coins are more common than E2/2 coins with the bell mark, a point which strengthens the argument for their having been issued first. It will be noted that all five portrait types occur with the tun mark and this perhaps reflects experimentation of style prior to the opening of the Aberystwyth Mint.

The inner circle reappears on the coins of *Group F* which contains seven bust and two reverse types. The portrait types are of particular interest because of the strong links between the coinages of the Tower and Aberystwyth—opened in 1638 (during the use of the tun mark in London) as a satellite to the Tower Mint for the coining of the Welsh silver. Francis, when dealing with his type 4, said 'undoubtedly some Aberystwyth punches were used'. It is, however, more likely that some Tower punches were used for the Aberystwyth pieces. Francis's comment quickly gave rise to the adoption of the terms large and small Aberystwyth bust in the classification of busts which differ in features as well as size, and only three of seven were used at Aberystwyth anyway.

The first bust (Pl. VII, 44, Francis 4a) is continued from Group E. The mark of value is small on coins of this type. It is the only type of the tun mark in this group to occur with a double arched crown and as a fine work striking (Pl. VIII, 66). The second bust (Pl. VII, 45, Francis 4) is much larger but very similar except for the single arched crown. Like the first bust it is known only with the tun mark. The small mark of value is continued from the first type but the large figure (Pl. VII, 46) is re-introduced during the issue. The third bust (Pl. VII, 47, Francis 4b) is comparable to the first in size, has the large mark of value and is the only type to occur with the three principle marks for the group, tun, anchor and triangle. The fourth bust (Pl. VII, 48) closely resembles the first (Pl. VII, 44—note the double arched crown), but the shoulder is clearly much smaller, so much so that it would seem that a bust punch for a sixpence of Francis type 4 was used. Coins of this type, which have the mintmark anchor (flukes to right) are extremely rare; possibly the issue was a transitional one. Francis noted the type which he recorded as type 4b die 18. The fifth bust

(Pl. VII, 49, Francis 4b) is almost as large as the second bust (Pl. VII, 45) which it resembles, but the shoulder is now more rounded. It does not occur with the tun mark. The facial characteristics of the sixth bust (Pl. VII, 50) bear striking resemblance to Briot's portrait with the stellate lace collar falling over an embroidered jacket (Pl. VII, 54) for which it may have been mistaken. The sixth bust is, however, clearly an armoured one and the crown small and single arched. The seventh bust (Pl. VII, 51) was published by R. Carlyon-Britton.⁷ Occurring as it does with m.m. triangle-in-circle it might be considered appropriate to place it in the next group, but it appears to be the result of a third bust puncheon having been recut to show riveted shoulder armour and I have, therefore, felt it necessary to include it in the same group. It is perhaps a companion piece to the strange crown of the same mintmark.⁸ This shows Briot's Scottish equestrian portrait rather than his Tower portrait—the King's crown is different. Could it be that both were produced for a special purpose or were they just the result of casual experiments? It is worth noting that Charles I left London during the use of the triangle-in-circle mark and experimentation by Parliamentary officials with odd punches might seem the most likely explanation.

The two reverses for Group F are very similar each having a cross over a square-topped shield. The first (Pl. VII, 52) has small, neat cross ends whereas on the second (Pl. VII, 53) they are large and rounded. The change occurs during the use of the triangle mark. The first reverse is scarce with this mintmark in its own right but fairly frequently encountered with triangle punched over anchor.

There are four mintmarks for the group: tun, anchor (introduced 8 May 1638), triangle (4 July 1639) and triangle-in-circle (15 July 1641).

The incidence of portrait and reverse types is as follows:

Busts 1 and 2 occur only with reverse 1, m.m. tun

Bust 3 with reverse 1, m.m.s. tun, anchor (vertical and horizontal with flukes to left or right) and triangle (over anchor *obv.*) and with reverse 2, m.m. triangle (over anchor *obv.*)

Bust 4 with reverse 1, m.m. anchor (flukes to right)

Bust 5 with reverse 1, m.m.s. anchor (flukes to left or right—NOT vertical) and triangle and with reverse 2, m.m. triangle

Bust 6 with reverse 1, m.m. triangle (over anchor flukes to right *rev.*) and with reverse 2, m.m. triangle.

Bust 7 with reverse 2, m.m. triangle-in-circle.

Group G (Francis 4c) is much less complicated containing but two obverse and reverse types. The first portrait (Pl. VII, 54) has a profile similar to that of the F6 bust, but the King is now shown wearing a widespread double arched crown and a stellate lace collar over a richly embroidered jacket with a trace of armour between 5 and 6 o'clock. This portrait is found with slight variations in size and the line of the shoulder varies also. The issue was quite a prolific one. This portrait was also used for Briot's second milled issue and his hammered issue. The second portrait (Pl. VII, 55) is similar but of slightly inferior workmanship. The main difference is the clear appearance of armour between 5 and 6 o'clock.


The reverses are as for the previous group, F1 (Pl. VII, 52) and F2 (Pl. VII, 53).

There are seven mintmarks for this group: triangle (sometimes quite small), star (introduced 26 June 1640), triangle-in-circle (15 July 1641), P in brackets (29 May 1643), R in brackets (15 July 1644), eye (12 May 1645) and sun (10 November 1645).

⁷ R. Carlyon-Britton, *NCirc* Feb. 1949.

⁸ F. R. Cooper, *BNJ* xxxvii (1968), Pls. XVI, XX.

The incidence of obverse and reverse types is:

Bust 1 occurs with reverse 1, m.m. triangle and with reverse 2, m.m.s. triangle, star, triangle-in-circle, (P) and (R). There is an obverse with this last mark on its side, viz. .

Bust 2 occurs with reverse 2, m.m.s. eye and sun.

The coins of *Group H* (Francis types 5 and 5a) are the last in the Tower series. There are three portrait and two reverse types. The first bust (Pl. VIII, 56) is tall and slim with the King's features rather crudely portrayed. The second (Pl. VIII, 57) is shorter and better proportioned. There is a slight similarity with the features and the style of crown of the first bust. The third bust (Pl. VIII, 58) was not recorded by Francis. The features are treated a little better, the crown is larger with less accentuated arches and the shoulder slightly different. This bust type also occurs with a medium sized mark of value (Pl. VIII, 59). Nice striking of the second and third busts are unfortunately very difficult to obtain and a number of coins may have to be examined before one is satisfied as to their differences.

The two reverses are similar. The first (Pl. VIII, 60) is continued from the previous group. The second (Pl. VIII, 61) has a smaller shield, in keeping with the smaller flans used for these last issues.

There are two mintmarks for the group: sun and sceptre (introduced 15th February, 1647—new style).

The incidence of types is:

Bust 1 occurs with reverse 1, both mintmarks

Busts 2 and 3 occur with reverse 2, m.m. sceptre only.

Pieces of Fine Work

The series of Tower shillings of Charles I is punctuated by the appearance of a number of pieces which are clearly the product of superior workmanship. They are neater, often with fuller obverse legends and on very regular flans which were possibly machine made. Many of the coins have a proof-like quality. I have so far recorded the following types in this state:

B5/2 m.m. heart (Pl. VIII, 62)—the (test?) mark in the obverse field possibly having been made by someone suspicious of the coin's exceptional quality.

C2/4 m.m. plumes.

C2/5 m.m. rose (over plumes *rev.*—known with this m.m. in fine work only).

C3/5 m.m. plumes (only known in fine work).

D1/1 m.m. harp—well known as a proof-like striking.

D2/1 m.m. harp (Pl. VIII, 63)—scarcer than D1/1, the coin illustrated shows a (test?) mark in the obverse field.

E2/2 m.m. bell (Pl. VIII, 64).

E2/2 m.m. large bell *obv./bell rev.*

E2/2 m.m. crown.

E2/3 m.m. bell.

E2/3 m.m. large bell *obv./bell rev.* (Pl. VIII, 65)—the Welsh plumes are neater than on the normal issue (Pl. VIII, 43).

E3/2 m.m. tun.

F1/1 m.m. tun (Pl. VIII, 66).

F5/1 m.m. anchor (flukes to right).

The first and obvious conclusion from this table is that superior striking occurs for Groups B to F inclusive. The second conclusion is more subtle. The coins recorded are not as one might have expected all of the first types for their groups, nor do they all occur with the first mintmark for a group. What is apparent, however, is that with the sole exception of the E2/2 pieces with the crown mark, all of these pieces occur with the first mintmark for a new type of portrait or reverse. This conclusion does, I think, confirm the long held view that these pieces are proof or trial striking rather than patterns, though it could be said that the bell striking might be companion pieces to the patterns for the groat and threepence with that mark. There is, however, the inescapable fact that the three pattern shillings which subsequent issues closely resemble—the m.m. heart pattern for Group C, the m.m. rose pattern for Group D and the m.m. portcullis pattern for Group E—all occur with a mintmark from the previous group.

Before leaving the subject of trial striking, three impressions of central (or master?) puncheons of Group G obverses and reverses on roughly cut lozenge shaped flans must be mentioned. One is illustrated (Pl. VIII, 67). The obverse shows a G1 bust with mark of value contained within an inner circle and the reverse a shield of G2, also within inner circle. This piece weighs 65.3 grains. A die duplicate appeared in a Sotheby sale,⁹ weight 62.5 grains. This piece is (officially?) cut. Nelson illustrated another thinking it might be an obsidional coin.¹⁰ This weighs 61 grains but its most important feature is the portrait G2. The introduction of this bust with the eye mintmark in May 1645 under the auspices of Parliament make the claim for this piece to be obsidional rather fanciful and certainly dispels Yeates's claim that this was the Irish issue of 1642 struck by the Confederated Catholics.¹¹ These pieces must, therefore, be regarded as rather haphazard trials for the two portraits of Group G bearing in mind the absence of fine work striking for the group, the general deterioration of workmanship during its currency, and the weight.

Odd and Curious

Whilst the subject of spelling errors in die compilation has been ignored because of frequency, other and rather more dramatic errors are illustrated as they reflect the processes of die compilation. With the coins of Charles I the unexpected often occurs.

A Group A2 obverse exists with an inverted mark of value (Pl. VIII, 68). A Group D1 reverse survives with inverted CR (Pl. VIII, 69) and another of the same type exists without inner circle (Pl. IX, 70)—traces of a 'wire guideline' are evident, however. A Group E2 reverse has an inverted garniture (Pl. IX, 71); note the actual arms are the right way up. This error is also known on halfcrown and halfgroat reverses of the same type. Lastly, there is a Group G1 obverse m.m. (P) muled with a halfcrown reverse on a shilling flan (Pl. IX, 72). This piece weighs 90.1 grains.

The Coinages of Nicholas Briot have always and rightly I think, been given separate attention. There were two milled and one hammered coinages.

The First Milled Coinage produced in 1631–2 would have been concurrent with

⁹ Sotheby, 17. 11. 1976, lot 218.

¹⁰ P. Nelson, *BNJ* ii (1905), p. 317.

¹¹ F. W. Yeates, *BNJ* xv (1920–1), p. 193.

the m.m. rose coins of Group C and the m.m. harp coins of Group D. This coinage produced two rather similar types. The first (Pl. X, 95) has the mintmark B. The obverse shows the King wearing a lace collar and mantle. The crown is double arched and widespread. The legend, which is unusually full, and the presence of stops by the mark of value reflect considerable care in engraving. The mintmark is at the beginning of the legend.

The reverse has a square-topped shield and a cross fourchée extending to the edge of the coin with lyre-shaped embellishments by the inner circle. Briot's cleft-footed harp is used for the Irish arms. The m.m. is at the end of the legend, which has the unusual feature of commencing at 6 o'clock. Lozenge stops are evident on both sides.

The second type (Pl. X, 96) is very similar. The obverse mintmark is, however, B and flower. The reverse legend commences at 12 o'clock and the Scottish arms are smaller than on the previous type. The reverse mintmark B is again at the end of the legend.

The Second Milled Coinage produced 1638-9 closely resembles coins of Group G but was concurrent with the anchor coins of Group F. There is one type occurring with two mintmarks, anchor to right (Pl. X, 97) and anchor to right with a B placed horizontally below it (Pl. X, 98). The bottom of the anchor ring is invariably broken. Briot's cleft-footed harp and lozenge stops are again evident.

The issues of the Hammered Coinage are a little more complicated as they overlap types of Groups F and G with which they are sometimes muled. The first type (Pl. X, 99) was recorded by Francis as a class 4c coin although he did remark on its strong links with Briot's second milled issue and the fact that a normal 4c did not exist with the anchor mark. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the large rounded cross ends on the reverse do not occur with the m.m. anchor issues of Group F. For these reasons and in spite of the semi-colon stops on the obverse and pellet stops on the reverse, I am convinced that this great rarity is the earliest of Briot's hammered pieces. The next coin illustrated (Pl. X, 100) has always been regarded as something of a puzzle. It appears initially to be a Group F5/2 coin with Briot's harp on the reverse. The mintmark is triangle over anchor and the reverse stops are pellets. The mintmark leads to the solution of the puzzle. Since the F2 reverse did not occur with the anchor mark, one would expect a die link with the reverse of the first type of Briot's hammered issue (Pl. X, 99), but the legends are differently spaced. Further scrutiny reveals, however, that the outline of the shield and cross, together with the positioning of the arms, coincide—note the flaw above the Scottish arms and the irregularity of the line of the shield at 5 o'clock. Thus the link is established and the coin must be classified as a Group F5 obverse muled with a Briot Hammered Issue first type reverse. Supporting evidence is also given by the trial striking (Pl. VIII, 67) of the G1/2 punches, introduced with the triangle mark, from which it is apparent that different dies could have been produced from the same central puncheons.

The second type of Briot's hammered issue is very similar to the first, differing only in the presence of lozenge stops both sides. It occurs with two mintmarks, anchor (Pl. X, 101) and triangle over anchor (Pl. X, 102). Coins with the former mark are excessively rare.

Mules with triangle over anchor occur both ways with normal Tower types. A Tower G1 obverse m.m. triangle is muled with a Briot second type reverse (Pl. X, 103) and a Briot second type obverse is muled with a Tower F1 or G1 reverse m.m. triangle (Pl. X, 104). It will be remembered that this reverse is common to both groups.

The Aberystwyth Shillings¹²

The Aberystwyth Mint opened in 1638 when the tun mintmark was in use at the Tower. As this mint opened in peacetime it was probably subordinate to the Tower. In the case of the shillings this is borne out by the fact that each of the three portraits used on the Aberystwyth shillings was used at the Tower. Study of the links between these mints reveals the sequence of the Aberystwyth types.

Before the Aberystwyth Mint opened it is clear that there was considerable experimentation of bust types at the Tower. The tun mark was in use on coins of two groups, E and F, and no less than seven portraits were used, five for Group E and three for Group F (one being common to both). The evolution would appear to be E2 (Pl. XI, 105), E3 (Pl. XI, 106), E1 (Pl. XI, 107) reintroduced from the early m.m. bell issue, E4 (Pl. XI, 108) and E5 (Pl. XI, 109). This last bust continued into Group F as F1 (Pl. XI, 110)—note the inner circle and small mark of value. F2 with small mark of value is next (Pl. XI, 111) and it is on this that the first Aberystwyth obverse is modelled (Pl. XI, 112). It has the same portrait and mark of value but no inner circle, the influence of Tower Group F perhaps. The Tower F2 obverse type with large mark of value (Pl. XI, 113) was used for the second Aberystwyth obverse (Pl. XI, 114) and F3 (Pl. XI, 115) for the third (Pl. XI, 116). F4 (Pl. XI, 117) and F5 (Pl. XI, 118) were not adopted at Aberystwyth but the newly discovered Tower F6 (Pl. XI, 119) links with the fourth and last Aberystwyth obverse (Pl. XI, 120) which was subsequently used at Shrewsbury.

Translating to Morrieson types to include the Aberystwyth reverses it would appear that the likely chronological type sequence was: A1, A2 (figure 3 reverse)—the plumes above the shield are as the Tower group E2/3 fine work pieces, A2, C2, C3, B2 and D3.

CONCORDANCE OF CHARLES I TOWER SHILLINGS WITH SEABY, NORTH AND FRANCIS

<i>Sharp</i>	<i>Seaby</i>	<i>North</i>		<i>Francis</i>	<i>Sharp</i>	<i>Seaby</i>	<i>North</i>		<i>Francis</i>
		<i>Group</i>	<i>No.</i>				<i>Group</i>	<i>No.</i>	
A1/1	1	A	2216	1	B2/3	1b ³	B	2219	1c
A2/1	1	A	2216	1	B3/2	1b ²	B	2220	1c
A2/2	1 (var.)	A	2216 (var.)	1 (var.)	B4/2	1b ²	B	2220	1c
					B5/2	1b ²	B	2220	1c
A2/3	1b ¹	A	2217	1b	C1/1	2a	C	2221	2a
B1/1	1a	B	2218	1a	C1/4	2b	C	2222	2b
B1/2	1b ²	B	2220	1c	C2/1	2a	C	2221	2a
B2/1	1a	B	2218	1a	C2/2	2a (var.)	C	2221 (var.)	2a (var.)
B2/2	1b ²	B	2220	1c					

¹² See H. W. Morrieson, *BNJ* x (1913), pp. 181-97.

<i>Sharp</i>	<i>Seaby</i>	<i>North</i>		<i>Francis</i>	<i>Sharp</i>	<i>Seaby</i>	<i>North</i>		<i>Francis</i>
		<i>Group</i>	<i>No.</i>				<i>Group</i>	<i>No.</i>	
C2/3	2a	C	2221	2a	E5/2	3a (var.)	D	2225	3a (var.)
C2/4	2b	C	2222	2b				(var.)	
C2/5	2b	C	2222	2b	F1/1	4 ²	E	2228	4a
C2/6	2b	C	2222	2b	F2/1	4 ¹	E	2227	4
C3/5	2b	C	2222	2b	F3/1	4 ³	E	2229	4b
D1/1	3 ¹	D	2223	3	F3/2	4 ³	E	2229	4b
D1/2	3 ²	D	2224	3b	F4/1	—	E	2228	4b
D2/1	3 ¹	D	2223	3					(die 18)
D3/1	3 ¹	D	2223	3	F5/1	4 ¹ var.	E	2230	4b
D3/2	3 ²	D	2224	3b	F5/2	4 ¹ var.	E	2230	4b
D4/1	3 ¹	D	2223	3	F6/1	—		—	—
D5/1	3 ¹	D	2223	3	F6/2	—		—	—
D6/1	3 ¹	D	2223	3	F7/2	—		—	—
E1/1	3a	D	2225	3a	G1/1	4 ⁴	F	2231	4c
E1/2	3a	D	2225	3a	G1/2	4 ⁴	F	2231/2	4c
E2/1	3a	D	2225	3a	G2/2	4 ⁴	F	2232	4c
E2/2	3a	D	2225	3a	H1/1	4 ⁵	G	2233	5
E2/3	3b	D	2226	3c	H2/2	4 ⁶	G	2234	5a
E3/2	3a	D	2225	3a	H3/2	4 ⁶	G	2234	5a
E4/2	3a	D	2225	3a					



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THE CROMWELL LORD PROTECTOR MEDAL BY SIMON

MARVIN LESSEN

Foreword

THOMAS SIMON's five Cromwell medals¹ have an interest and importance somewhat in advance of and removed from the usual numismatic or collector channels. For one thing they are the work of probably the premier British medallist; for another they relate to one of the most important personages and periods in British history; and finally they are mostly official government rewards, not made in quantity and not made for the general public. Each was struck from dies and originals are of great rarity. It is doubtful that a total of even twenty contemporarily struck specimens exist of the five types, although re-strikes, casts and copies are relatively numerous and usually incompletely differentiated from originals. In light of this it is unfortunate that this small, élite series has not been fully studied and reported on in depth. The best material was written by Henfrey, but there is more to be learned since his flourishing in the 1870s. This paper discusses one of these medals, and it is anticipated that the remainder will be similarly covered in subsequent papers.

Some of the numismatically-related events in the life of Cromwell are:

appointed Captain or Lord General, i.e., Commander-in-Chief of Parliament's Armies (26 June 1650); Battle of Dunbar (3 September 1650); Simon in Edinburgh to sketch Cromwell for the Dunbar medal (before 4 February 1650/1); dissolution of the Rump or Long Parliament (20 April 1653); Nominated or Barebones Parliament (Saints) (4 July 1653–16 December 1653); first Protectorate, Cromwell inaugurated as Lord Protector (16 December 1653); first Protectorate Parliament (4 September 1654–22 January 1654/5); second Protectorate Parliament (17 September 1656–4 February 1657/8); Cromwell rejects offer of kingship (8 May 1657); apparent initial 'issuance' of the 1656 Cromwell coinage, at least the halfcrown² (1 June 1657); second Protectorate, Cromwell inaugurated for the second time as Lord Protector (26 June 1657); death of Cromwell (3 September 1658); state funeral (23 November 1658).

In the old style calendar the New Year began on the 25th of March, and year dates in this paper show both old and new styles when there is a conflict (between 1 January and 25 March), in the form os/ns.

Various early works discuss the Lord Protector medal in very brief form, and these include:

J. Evelyn's *A Discourse of Medals*, p. 118/XL, 1697, the first English book to illustrate it;³ G. van Loon's *Histoire Metallique*, part II Liv. IV, p. 367, 1732; G. Vertue's *Medals, Coins Great Seals etc of Thomas Simon*, Pl. XII/E, 1753 (his voluminous manuscripts do not appear to cover it); H. W. Henfrey's *Numismata Cromwelliana*, Pl. 1/6 and p. 17, 1877, a work of immense importance although very little is written on this

¹ The small Dunbar medal, the large Dunbar medal, the unfinished Lord General medal, the Lord Protector medal, and the Death or Funeral medal. Except for the Lord General medal, each is signed.

² M. Lessen, 'An Additional Note to A Summary of the Cromwell Coinage', *NCirc* July/August 1976.

³ On pages 18 and 226 Henfrey lists earlier illustrations in Raguenet's *Histoire d'Olivier Cromwel*, 1691, p. 277; Leti's original *Vita di Oliviero Cromvele*, 1692, vol. ii, p. 316; and facing p. 280 of vol. ii of his 1694 edition. I have seen Raguenet (p. 304) only so I cannot compare illustrations.

medal itself; and Hawkins, Franks & Grueber's *Medallic Illustrations* etc. (MI), p. 409/45, 1885. Other than Henfrey these works contain meager information, at best.

This paper attempts to show when and why the Lord Protector medal was issued. Hopefully it disproves the widely-held view that it was issued for Cromwell's first inauguration in late 1653 as stated by Leti,⁴ assuming Henfrey interpreted him correctly,⁵ or even for the second inauguration. The terminology 'Inauguration' to define the medal must be dropped, leaving the unfortunately nebulous designation of 'Lord Protector' medal, i.e., a medal depicting Cromwell, his official titles as Lord Protector, and his and the Commonwealth's arms. The struck medals, the broken reverse die, and the problem of the casts are here discussed. The general conclusions are that the medal was a monetary/political reward, perhaps in some cases also a monetary/military reward; only the struck medals were official and contemporary; and they were probably issued from midway or late in the first Protectorate to shortly before Cromwell's death, at least.

*History of the Inauguration*⁶

On 4 July 1653 the Nominated or Barebones Parliament first met. In early November there was an election of a new Council of State. Though elected by the House it is likely that the majority of the Council were opposed to the proposals of this Parliament, and by early December it was generally suspected that some sudden change was pending—that Parliament would be dissolved and the Lord General, Cromwell, would become head of state in name as well as fact. On 12 December Parliament dissolved itself with the help of a file of musketeers, and delivered back to the Lord General the powers they had originally received from him. On 13 December Lambert presented his plan for government, probably based on the earlier Agreement of the People to some extent, replacing his previous proposal containing the title of 'King' with that of 'Lord Governour', and in that form it was presented to Cromwell. It is considered fairly certain that this type of proposal was brought up among Lambert and the other senior army officers before the dissolution, but went no further because Cromwell refused to dissolve Parliament again by force or accept the title of King. This would have been in late November. By 15 December the Council and Cromwell had agreed on his becoming the formal head of state, with the title now changed to 'Lord Protector', a known title with historical implications of a temporary position. The implementation was immediate and, in a rapid public function on 16 December, Cromwell took an oath and was inaugurated as 'the Captain-General of all the forces of this Commonwealth, and now declared Lord Protector thereof'. It was a quiet inauguration, and the main point to be made here is the brief time frame of late November to mid-December, which did not allow sufficient time for design, approval and die making. In contrast, the Second Inauguration of 26 June 1657, after Cromwell

⁴ Gregorie Leti, *La Vie d'Olivier Cromwel*, Amsterdam 1694 and 1696, vol. ii, p. 280. He wrote that medals were thrown to the people out of the windows of Whitehall on the occasion of the 1653 Inauguration. This has presumably been the strongest argument for the medal being assigned to the December 1653 period, at least since Henfrey interpreted it in 1877.

⁵ Henfrey, *op. cit.* p. 226.

⁶ W. C. Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 3, pp. 130-8 for most of this material. Abbott's four-volume work (Harvard 1937-1947) and his 1929 bibliography have been extensively used for this paper. Much of his material came from the *Calendar of State Papers of Venice*, Giavarina to Doge.

had finally rejected the latest offer of the crown, was a well-planned affair of great elaboration, virtually a regal investment. But by that time the Lord Protector medal had already been in production for some time.

The Portrait

The portrait itself is of interest, but it does not appear to be of great help in dating the medal. If the possibility of a fresh sitting is ignored there are then three portraits to be considered, viz. the live sketch by Simon in 1650 for the Dunbar medal (the original sketch or sketches are not now known to exist); the profile-right miniature by or after Cooper in the Duke of Devonshire collection;⁷ and the Simon sketch for the first, but not the final version of the crown, as depicted on the warrant of 27 November 1656.⁸

Medallic Illustrations, Vertue and Farquhar⁹ considered that the medal portrait was derived from the Devonshire miniature. Piper, the only modern art personality in the group of writers, considered the Devonshire miniature to be c. 1655 and not related to any medallic portrait. He felt the medal portrait was of a 1654 date (though he was likely influenced in this by its numismatic designation and history, which assigned it to the first Inauguration), and that it was probably based on the Dunbar portrait as opposed to a fresh sitting. Allen, when discussing the crown, considered that portrait to have been similarly derived from the Dunbar.

However, from my own perspective it would seem that the 27 November 1656 warrant sketch (and hence the coinage portraits) and the Lord Protector medal portrait derived from a common origin, likely from a fresh sitting. It will be shown that the medal was probably in production before the warrant sketch, so it appears the coinage portrait was derived from the medal. With a new and important coinage proposed six years after Dunbar a new live sitting would have been in order if there had not been one previously for the medal. Yet there is no proof that Simon did not use his own Dunbar sketch, updated or not, or some other artist's work as the basis. There was no shortage of official Cromwell portraits available at the time.

*Contemporary Account (Mint 3/16)*¹⁰

Until recently we knew of no documentary material specifically relating to this medal. However, in the Public Record Office under the classification/documentation number of 'MINT 3/16' is an eight-page folio entitled on the cover sheet, 'The Accompt of Thomas Simon Chief Graver of the Mint, Seales, and Meddals. 1657'. The heading of the first page reads 'The particulars of worke done and Disbursements made for the use of his Highness and the Common Wealth by Thomas Simon Chiefe Graver of the Mint and Seales, Since Anno 1650'. The various categories contained in the account are for Seales for England, Seales for Scotland, Seales for Ireland, for the Coynes, Meddals, Several Boxes (to hold treaties made with foreign nations),

⁷ David Piper, 'The Contemporary Portraits of Oliver Cromwell', *Walpole Society* xxxiv, Pl. VIII, B.

⁸ Derek Allen, 'Warrants and Sketches of Thomas Simon', *BNJ* xxiii, Pl. II, I. But this does not mean the sketch itself was anything more than an outline. There may have been more formal drawings involved.

⁹ Helen Farquhar, 'Portraiture of Our Stuart

Monarchs on Their Coins and Medals', *BNJ* v, p. 222. But she seems to be simply quoting Vertue who was very confused with his plate references.

¹⁰ First referenced in 'List of Royal Mint Records Transferred to the Public Record Office in October 1969', *SCMB*, March 1972, p. 94 and February 1976, p. 49.

Several Presses, Several Extraordinary Services and Expenses, and finally the summary General Accompt. The total for all this work was £1028/05/08.

The handwriting is probably that of a government clerk, and not Simon's. So far as I can determine this account had previously only been noted by Hocking who published the Coyne's entry,¹¹ but otherwise it is an unpublished document. The related material seen by Henfrey will be discussed later. While the entire document should be published at some time, only the section on medals (Meddals) will be given in this paper, and that verbatim. It contains four entries only, each of which obviously applies to the Lord Protector medal, in gold and with a chain. These are as follows:

Meddals.

	£	s	d
For a Gold Meddall and Chaine, on the one side the Effigies of his Highnesse in Armor and the Title. And on the Reverse the Armes of England Scotland and Ireland Quartered with his Highness' Coate of Armes in an Inescutcheon Supported by a Lion with a Motto being for Major Redman the Gold weighted ounces 9:8dwt 10 grs -----	040	00	00
For a Gold Meddall and Chaine, on the one side the Effigies of his Highnesse in Armor and the Title And on the Reverse the Armes of England Scotland and Ireland Quartered with his Highness' Coat of Armes in an Inescutcheon and Supported by a Lyon with a Motto, being for Coll. Sadler Gold weighed 11oz. 16dwt -----	050	00	00
For a Gold Meddall and a Chaine, on the one side the Effigies of his Highnesse in Armor and Title, And on the Reverse the Armes of England Scotland and Ireland quartered in a Compartiment Shield with his Highnesses Coate of Armes in an Inescutcheon Supported by a Lion with the Motto. Being for the Swedish Agent. Gold weig. 23oz. 10grs -----	100	00	00

(and in the same hand, but written smaller and obviously inserted at a later date)¹²

July 1657. More for a Gold Meddal and Chaine on the one side the Effigies of his Highness in Armor and Title and on the Reverse the Armes of England Scotland and Ireland quartered in a Compartiment Shield with his Highness Coat of Armes in an Inescutcheon and Supported by a Lion w th the Motto being for the Agent of the Duke Curland the gold wt 30oz -----	120	00	00
--	-----	----	----

Related Accounts

There are related accounts. Henfrey quotes Simon's Account,¹³ which he found among the State Papers at the Public Record Office (not the Mint papers which did not arrive until recently). This account is a summary form of MINT 3/16 and relates to the identical material, the sum of £1028.05.08 remaining due being the same. It is from the Council Entry Book No. 106, pages 404-5, under the date 14 January 1657/8. The medal entry simply states 'For Meddalls to Major Redman XL¹, Col. Sadler 50¹, Swedish Agent C¹, Duke of Curlands Agent CXX¹ £310.00.00'. While always a tantalizing entry it had been meaningless until the uncovering of the full details in MINT 3/16. Henfrey goes on to give some interesting chronological details about this account, which of course hold equally true for MINT 3/16. He says the account was laid before the Council of State on Thursday 6 August 1657 and

¹¹ W. J. Hocking, 'Simon's Dies in the Royal Mint Museum', *NC* 4th Series, vol. IX, 1909, p. 96.

¹² The 1657 cover date implies the account was written after 25 March 1657 o.s. The added fourth medal

entry date of July 1657 further implies the account was originally compiled between those two dates.

¹³ Henfrey, *op. cit.* p. 217ff. used for this material.

referred to two clerks for examination. It was then read before the Council on Thursday the 15th October when it was again referred back to the clerks to examine the rates charged. It was again presented to the Council on 14 January 1657/8 with the recommendation that it be paid. It can be seen that the last medal (Courland) entry date in MINT 3/16 of July 1657 is consistent with the account being presented to the Council in August 1657.¹⁴

The £1028. 5s. 8d. owed to Simon was the remainder from £1728. 5s. 8d. after payments to him totalling £700 in May 1655, September 1655 and January 1655/6. It is interesting to note, and perhaps even of significance, that these payments are defined by category in MINT 3/16 as £300 for Seales for England (out of £344); £200 for Seales for Scotland (out of £253); and £200 for Seales for Ireland (out of £308). There was no previous payment listed for medals, and this could be interpreted to imply that the Lord Protector medals were made subsequent to the last payment of January 1655/6, a date consistent with other events. It does not prove there were no medals made much earlier, paid for previously, and appearing in some unknown account. For example, Simon must have accounted for, if not necessarily been paid for, the c. 1651 Dunbar medals, which were certainly not a private commission, yet MINT 3/16 states the account is since 1650. At the same time it should be noted that there are only approximately ten original Dunbars known of both sizes in all metals. It could not have been a production issue as commonly believed.

The Council Entry Book continues with Simon again requesting payment on 13 July 1658, where he added a further bill for £132, obviously for new work, which included £120 for a gold medal and chain weighing 27 oz. 5 dwts. 12 grs. for presentation to the Portuguese Ambassador. It would now be impossible to deny that this is the fifth listed Lord Protector medal.

Abbott¹⁵ states 'During the week of Monday November 16 (1657), the Envoy from the Elector Palatine left London, receiving from the Protector a parting gift of a gold chain worth just over a hundred pounds, which seems to indicate that he and his mission were of no little importance'. In his footnote to this comment he includes a reference to 'the Dunkirk Ledger in Child's Bank, in "An Accompt of moneys due from the State to Edward Blackwell, not comprehended in the Dunkirk Accompt" is an item "For 2 chaines of gold—for Envoy of Prince Palatine of Rhine and Resident of Portugal" . . . £202/15/00'. Since only chains are mentioned, it is not reasonable to postulate a further medal for the Palatine Envoy. If there was such a medal it should have appeared in Simon's addenda, which covered the period well past November 1657. Additionally, since Simon was charging for chains as well as the medals¹⁶ (chains which he probably had to purchase elsewhere) this Dunkirk Ledger is inconsistent if an attempt is made to relate it to Simon's accounts. Whether the Portuguese Resident was the same as the Portuguese Ambassador I cannot say, but the November

¹⁴ In Henfrey's personal scrapbook (Lessen collection, ex Ockenden and Warner) on Cromwell is a further note from the Council Entry Book No. 106, p. 4 'On Tuesday, 14th July, 1657 the Council of State ordered that a Gold Chain (value £100) and a Medal (value £20) should be presented to the Minister of the Duke of Curland, now upon his departure'. The values are inconsistent, for the ratio of the total weight of 30 oz. (14,400 gr.) at £120 and the average medal weight

of 450 gr. would give a contemporary value to the medal itself of about £4, not £20. Possibly a portion represented Simon's labour. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (1657-8)*, p. 27 states £100 for a gold chain and medal.

¹⁵ Abbott, *op. cit.* vol. 4, p. 677 and footnote 136.

¹⁶ Henfrey, *op. cit.* p. 36. Simon was sole maker of the Protectorate and Commonwealth medals and their chains based on the formal patent granted 9 July 1656, but ordered 16 March 1654/5.

1657 date for the former is unrelated to the July 1658 date for the latter. The implication here is that the Dunkirk chains are just that, and do not imply a medal for either the Portuguese Resident or the Palatine Envoy.

The Recipients

Major Daniel Redman¹⁷ became major in January 1650 (it is not clear if this is 1650/1) of Cromwell's own original regiment of horse, a post he retained in Ireland until c. March 1657/8, when he became colonel in another regiment replacing Colonel Sir John Reynolds who had drowned on his return from Flanders 5 December 1657. Possibly of most importance to this paper is that from Ireland in January 1654/5 he landed in Scotland commanding 600 horse in conjunction with Colonel Sadler's 2,600 foot to meet the anticipated uprising in the West of England. Redman was a staunch Cromwellian, and he sat in the second Parliament of 1656 as the member for Kilkenny and Carlow. Firth & Davies are confusing with regard to the Redman/Reynolds replacement of 1657/8. On 25 April 1657 Reynolds had been given overall command of the 6,000 foot sent to Flanders in support of the French army. When Reynolds died Redman became colonel to replace him, but whether Redman remained in Ireland or actually went to Flanders is unclear. Firth & Davies imply that Redman was not in Reynolds's Flanders regiment although they say he replaced Reynolds, perhaps meaning that he replaced Reynolds in the Irish regiment that may have been left behind. However, Abbott¹⁸ implies that the replacement was in Flanders. Regardless, he was certainly in Ireland in 1659 when he was discharged, but in 1660 he was apparently in Monck's favour and after the Restoration he was knighted.

Colonel Thomas Sadler¹⁷ similarly had numerous posts, mostly in Ireland. In 1649 he was adjutant general of foot; in March 1650 he captured some small castles in Tipperary and Kilkenny; in November 1652 he was made Governor of County Wexford; and later in his career he was Governor of Galway. In January 1654/5 he landed in England with 2,600 foot in conjunction with Redman's landing in Scotland with the horse contingent.

Of these landings of Redman and Sadler in January 1654/5, the whole brigade under the overall command of Colonel John Reynolds, there is no mention in Abbott even though he devotes considerable space to the uprising. This would imply that Redman and Sadler were not especially famed for these actions. Most of their efforts seem to have been in the Shrewsbury area. Except for the fact that the two men seem to have played relatively small parts in the suppression of this abortive insurrection (the 'Penruddock' rising of January–March 1654/5), it appears possible that their Lord Protector medals were rewards for this action, although there were other and more important military personnel involved, and the other listed medals went to foreign officials, not to English military personnel. Of course there is some possibility that they received these medals as cumulative political rewards since both were activists. However, they seem to have been issued together and at a time when Sadler was of a higher rank than Redman (Redman also became colonel in or about March 1657/8), and the January 1654/5 action is likely. They could have been presented

¹⁷ Firth & Davies, *Regimental History of Cromwell's Armies*, 1940, 2 volumes. Most of this material is from

volume 2.

¹⁸ Abbott, *op. cit.* vol. 4, p. 696.

considerably later in time, but all that can be said at present is that they were issued between c. April 1655, when the insurrection was considered over, and July 1657 when the Courland medal was entered into Simon's account. Why this seemingly small incident was justification for a rare and somewhat costly reward can perhaps be understood as appreciation for the loyalty of troops coming from Ireland during a time and for an event which was very highly publicized by the Protectorate.

The Swedish Agent is probably Christiern Bonde, Ambassador Extraordinary from Charles X Gustavus, King of Sweden. He signed an important treaty with the Protectorate on 17 July 1656. He left England in October 1656 for he wrote his thanks to Cromwell from Hamburg 19 October 1656 on his way home. It is not clear if he ever returned to England. Assuming Bonde is the person who received the medal and chain, the date would probably be between July and October 1656. At the same time it should be recognized that Benjamin Bonnel was Bonde's predecessor; he was the regular Commissioner for Sweden under Christina, who abdicated in favour of Charles X on 5 June 1654. Bonnel remained in England, and on 26 July 1654 he received new credentials from Charles X and was received by Cromwell. About 20 June 1655 he announced his impending departure, which inspired a commendatory letter from Cromwell to Charles X,¹⁹ and on 17 July 1655 Bonnel asked the Protectorate for money for his passage home. The new ambassador, Bonde, landed in England at that time. Abbott also points out that a George Alkinton was paid £410. 4s. 6d. for a gold chain and a jewel with Cromwell's portrait for the Swedish envoy, Coyet, probably to present to his master.²⁰ Petrus Julius Coyet was the trade envoy, overlapping both Bonnel and Bonde. The combination of Alkinton, portrait and jewel certainly do not mean a Simon medal, and perhaps it is not improbable to suggest that the Lord Protector medal had to be post-July 1655. However, jewelled portraits were also issued later. For example, in July 1657 the revenue committee had to pay Alkinton £565 for a jewel for Admiral Blake in the form of four diamonds case fashion enclosing Cromwell's portrait,²¹ as a reward for his victory over the Spanish at Santa Cruz, 20 April 1657. Some caution should be exercised here and in the next paragraph with regard to the terminology of 'agent' in the account and the titles of 'ambassador' and 'envoy', for they could actually relate to different individuals.

In September 1656 Rudolf von Strauch, the envoy from James, Duke of Courland (north of Lithuania), arrived in England.²² Possibly his first audience with Cromwell was in November 1656, when he sought aid from England since Courland was being threatened by Sweden. He left England about 3 August 1657.²³ This then is consistent with the entered date of July 1657 for the medal in the Simon account.

The ambassador extraordinary from Portugal, Don Francisco de Mello, arrived in England in June 1657 in company with the dying Admiral Blake. He was still in England 31 December 1657, but I have not determined when he left. From the additional Simon entry of July 1658 the medal would have to have been issued between January 1657/8 and July 1658. Judging from the other examples of the issuing of this

¹⁹ Abbott, *op. cit.* vol. 3, p. 753.

²⁰ Abbott, *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 780-1. 'his master' probably meant Charles X.

²¹ Abbott, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 585. Full details are given by Henfrey in *Notes & Queries* 2nd December 1876, 5th

Series vol. vi, p. 444.

²² Abbott, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 297.

²³ Abbott, *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 789 and footnote 232. *Calendar of State Papers, Venice (1657-9)*, p. 93, which states £120.

medal it would probably have been done very late in, or at the end of, Mello's stay. If his leaving date could be ascertained it would likely show the medal to have been issued sometime during the winter of 1657/8. Since an Anglo-Portuguese treaty was only signed with him in April 1660, Mello was apparently in and out of England numerous times over the years.

Finally, there is the doubtful possibility of an issue to the Envoy of the Elector Palatine, Karl Ludwig. This envoy was probably George Frederick, Baron von Eilenburg, who had arrived in England at the end of June 1657, had an audience with Cromwell 5 August 1657, and left England 16 November 1657.²⁴

*Table I. Recorded Struck Gold Specimens of The Lord Protector Medal
(Compilation of documented issues plus presently known specimens)*

No.	Issued to	Date	Where Recorded	Present Location	Loop ?	Chain ?	Original Cost	Approx. wt. (grains troy)	Remarks
1	Major Daniel Redman	c. April 1655–July 1657	MINT 3/16	?	Probably	Yes	£40	4,522 with chain	Likely a military reward for services between Jan. & March 1654/5 but likely issued 1656
2	Colonel Thomas Sadler	c. April 1655–July 1657	MINT 3/16	?	Probably	Yes	£50	5,664 with chain	Likely a military reward for services between Jan. & March 1654/5 but likely issued 1656
3	Christiern Bonde—Swedish Agent	c. July 1656–Oct. 1656	MINT 3/16	?	Probably	Yes	£100	11,050 with chain	Ambassador from the King of Sweden, July 1655–October 1656
4	Rudolf von Strauch—Agent of Duke of Courland	July 1657	MINT 3/16 entry dated July 1657	?	Probably	Yes	£120	14,400 with chain	Envoy from the Duke of Courland September 1656–July 1657
5	Don Francisco de Mello—Portugese Ambassador	c. Jan. 1657/8–July 1658	Henfrey p. 217 Council Entry Book 106	?	Probably	Yes	£120	13,092 with chain	Ambassador from Portugal June 1657 to at least Jan. 1657/8. Added to Simon's request for payment in July 1658
6	—	—	—	?	Yes	No	—	—	Montagu lot 234. Perhaps one of the above five specimens
7	—	—	—	BM	No	No	—	448.5	—
8	—	—	—	Lessen	No	No	—	458.4	—
9	—	—	—	?	No	No	—	—	Murdoch lot 152

Existing Struck Specimens

The following list of struck Lord Protector medals is derived from a study of museum holdings, and auction and fixed price sale records, all in Britain. While it

²⁴ Abbott, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 595.

obviously cannot be complete it should be reasonably accurate and quite representative of those specimens now in museums or that have appeared on the British market over the past 150 years. It should be noted that Henfrey, by 1877, knew only of the single gold and silver specimens in the British Museum and, though he recorded a copper specimen, it is doubtful he ever saw it. Continental sources have not been investigated but, in view of the discussion in this paper, it is expected that some must be there.

Survival rates are impossible to determine. While some were likely melted for bullion, and the chains undoubtedly so, the survival rate should be high. On a rather simplistic basis I am assuming this to be so, because the types of recipients and their heirs seemingly could have afforded to retain their medals. Regardless, there would not have been very many produced and the distribution would have been restricted. Unfortunately the Simon accounts we know of do not cover all his work, at least in their details. We find no accounts relating to: the Dunbar medals, yet he made two sets of dies and struck a very few apparently trial specimens; the Lord General medal, though this was unfinished and he probably never charged for it (it might have been a private commission); or the Funeral medal, which was undoubtedly official.

1. Copper. Miss ffarington of Worden reported by Henfrey (p. 225), but not traced further.
2. Silver.²⁵ British Museum, ex Hawkins; reverse die crack; 19.046 g. (293.88 gr.); sg 10.19. Bifurcated letters. Plate XII, 2. Also *Medallic Illustrations*, Plate XXXVII, 8.
3. Gold. British Museum. 29.0669 g. (448.50 gr.); sg 18.11. Letters are not bifurcated. Illustrated Henfrey Plate I, 6.
4. Gold. Lessen, ex Reginald Huth 1927 (15) £47. (29.71 g.) 458.4 gr.; sg 18.13. Letters are not bifurcated. Plate XII, 1.
5. Gold. Montagu 1897 (234) £70, probably ex Addington. With round loop and ring. Bifurcated letters. Not further traced.
6. Gold. Murdoch 1904 (152) £79. Bifurcated letters. Not further traced.

These four gold specimens are distinct examples since sale catalogue or museum illustrations are available for each.²⁶ The following four gold specimens have been recorded, but they were never illustrated, and I suspect most or even all are repeats of 3–6 above.

7. Gold. Thomas Granger collection as reported by Vertue in 1753.
8. Gold. *SCMB* M311, March 1940 (64049) EF/FDC £100.
9. Gold. Mrs. Walker of Brighton sale, Glendining 11/1/1928 (144) EF £61.
10. Gold. Samuel Tyssen sale 28 May 1802 (2866).

Thus, only one silver, doubtfully one copper, and a minimum of four gold specimens

²⁵ So far as other possible silver specimens are concerned, the James O'Gray sale of 11 December 1879 lists a struck specimen as lot 386, sold to J. Williams for £2. Henfrey notes in his MS. (Ockenden collection) that Lincoln considered it to be cast, and the price also implies this. I have examined the example listed in the January

1977 *NCirc* (551) and I am certain it is a worn cast.

²⁶ However, there is a real possibility that the Murdoch specimen is ex-Montagu with the loop removed. They show a number of similar characteristics, but it is almost impossible to determine this with certainty from the plaster cast catalogue illustrations.

can definitely be recorded at present. Surprisingly only one public collection in Britain, the British Museum, appears to contain struck examples.²⁷

The Dies and Striking Methods

The methods Simon used for striking medals are not really known. The Cromwell medals were undoubtedly struck in the Tower, by Simon or under his supervision, and on existing machinery such as that used by Mestrelle or Briot. The dies were probably sunk using puncheons—this is not a certainty—but, unlike the coins, there are no medal puncheons extant (except for the bust puncheon for the Cromwell/Fairfax concoction, MI 411/48).²⁸ The dies themselves were likely similar to the Lord General medal die in the Museum of London, viz. a square shank roughly 45 × 45 mm. with the round die face raised above the shank, i.e., a shoulder die. The dies are not known to be in existence.

The Lessen example was certainly struck in a collar for it exhibits a witness line from a steel band within the collar. Some specimens show bifurcation of the lettering (indentation at the base of a letter) and some do not. Those showing bifurcation imply they were not struck in a collar. However, this would relate to the method of attaching the collar and the striking process used.²⁹ It is presumed that each of the medals was struck in a collar. Various small die flaws or cracks are evident but, without the opportunity to compare all the existing medals, the relative order of striking is not possible to determine.

It is assumed the chains issued with the medals were attached with a loop, and it is therefore surprising that only one of the four existing specimens has a loop. The implication is that the medals without a loop were issued at a minimum value (and without chains) and do not appear in Simon's accounts. Yet it is conceivable that the loops were removed from the three specimens (although I see no evidence of this on my own medal), or that they were issued in a separate mount with a chain, or that the chains were never attached. A loop could not have been integral to the die or flan since a collar was used in striking. The Montagu specimen is not available for study so its method of attachment is unknown. Simon did use an integral loop as part of the die for his oval medals. His 1653 Naval Reward (the reverse die is in the British Museum) and the Lord General die had this feature and, judging from some existing specimens, the small earlier Naval Reward, the small Dunbar and the Funeral medals probably had the loop integral; if not then the loop was integral to the flan. The loops were not attached after the strikings on these oval medals.

The Casts

The question of the casts is somewhat confusing and not readily resolvable. They fall into two groups, viz. poor quality light silver ones and very high quality silver

²⁷ The other museums queried were the Ashmolean, Fitzwilliam, Hunter, London, Huntingdon, National of Scotland, Royal Scottish, and Royal Mint. The Royal Mint specimen catalogued by Hocking is an electrotyp.

²⁸ M. Lessen, 'Supplement to A Summary of the

Cromwell Coinage', *NCirc* May 1976.

²⁹ Peter P. Gaspar, 'Simon's Cromwell Crown Dies in the Royal Mint Museum and Blondeau's Method for the Production of Lettered Edges', *BNJ* xlvii (1976), pp. 55-63.

and silver-gilt ones. There are no known gold casts.³⁰ All types could of course have been made at any time since the 1650s, but the two distinct groupings by quality imply they were made at two distinct times, and probably emanated from unrelated sources. Apparently no recorded information is available that can shed light on these. A number of hypotheses can be advanced as explanation, and a discussion of these is in order since it is the cast examples of the medal that are normally encountered.

It is simple enough to consider the best of the casts as legitimate issues, or contemporary, made after the 'early' reverse die break occurred. This theory can be followed by the assumption that perhaps the worst of the casts were the ones thrown to the public as stated by Leti. It is now seen that the struck medals were made for a number of years, in fact very late into Oliver's Protectorate, and the reverse die crack, as evidenced by the single silver specimen, was thus not early, but probably after mid-1658.

The possibility that the die did break early and thus the medals invoiced by Simon might have been silver-gilt casts (recall that there are no recorded gold casts) is obviously untenable, if for no other reason than the account entries give the total weight in gold, including chains, and the silver-gilt productions would have been explained in detail had those been the ones produced. It is inconceivable that the formally issued medals would have been anything other than gold, either cast or struck.

Next, there is the possibility that the reverse die broke in 1658, and sometime after that, but prior to the Restoration, high quality casts were made, perhaps by one of the Simons (experienced as they were with cast medals),³¹ not as official issues, but as a private enterprise for interested parties. The low grade casts could then be considered much later productions. But I could not fathom a distribution of casts so near in time to the struck medals. The gold strikings were very selectively made and issued, and it would have cheapened their purpose or impact if side issues were made for the general public, regardless of the method. Similarly, an official parallel production of cast and struck medals makes no sense. If dies are available one does not make casts. The dies probably came close to serving their purpose, for it would seem that Simon could have sunk a new set (assuming he used puncheons for them) had the need for further strikings been important enough.

Finally, the most reasonable explanation is that all casts are simply later productions, made by different people at different times and thus differing in quality. At the same time it should be recognized that nothing else in the Cromwell line parallels the Lord Protector casts in extent or quality, for there are only occasional casts of the various coins, the Dunbar medals, and the Funeral medal (possibly none for the Lord General medal), and these at best are never of exceptional quality.

³⁰ Identifying a cast specimen is usually straightforward. The designs and lettering lack definition, and the field is dull and may be pitted. It is less obvious for the high quality casts where examination under a low power microscope is often necessary; again the definition of the lettering is of importance. None of the casts

has been subjected to X-ray diffraction testing.

³¹ Casts such as the various private commission portrait medals are best illustrated by D. Allen in 'Thomas Simon's Sketch-Book', *Walpole Society* xxvii, Pl. IX.

Conclusions and Summary

The conclusions drawn from the evidence and from various assumptions are as follows:

1. The Lord Protector medal was an official Protectorate monetary political reward and, perhaps to a lesser extent, a military reward, or more reasonably a reward for cumulative military services. It was presented both to Englishmen and to foreign diplomats.
2. The struck gold specimens are official and contemporary, whether looped or not, and were made by Thomas Simon *c.* 1656–1658.
3. The struck silver specimen was contemporary or possibly slightly later, and represents the final use of the dies as evidenced by the reverse crack coupled with the apparent uniqueness of the known example. There is no evidence of a regular struck silver issue, and the one extant example should be considered as a *pièce de plaisir* and not for issue.
4. There is no evidence of any type that would imply the dies survived the Simon period, and it should be assumed they were destroyed contemporarily.
5. The copper specimen noted by Henfrey will be assumed to be a cast, unless it should appear and prove to be otherwise.
6. The high quality silver and silver-gilt casts were likely made *c.* 1740, and very possibly at the Royal Mint or by their personnel, when various other Cromwell items were being struck and re-struck to satisfy apparent collector demand (Dunbar and Lord General medals and Tanner and Dutch coin copies). Vertue mentions they are ‘sometimes seen in Silver, and one I have seen in Gold’. He probably saw silver casts, but it is doubtful that he would have been able to distinguish between one struck or cast, nor would he have cared. The text for his book was probably written *c.* 1743.
7. The poor quality silver casts were made at any time after that, such as in the late 18th or early 19th centuries, and are of no consequence. I can discern no common master for the casts.
8. The statement by Leti that medals were thrown to the public at the 1653 Inauguration probably means nothing since the possibility of the medal being ready at that time has hopefully now been dismissed. The 1657 Inauguration would not be fitting either for the medal is much too rare, and casts would not be made for that purpose. There are really no Cromwell or Commonwealth medals that could fit the requirements. Leti’s biography, according to Abbott, was the most popular Continental work on Cromwell before the 19th century, but he considered it a largely fabulous work.³² Leti’s statements on this subject must be disbelieved.
9. The Table I summary chart is a compilation of the struck gold specimens, listing nine examples. The dynamic range of dates of issue seem to be from April 1655 to June 1658, but early 1656 might be more realistic than 1655. No Continental collections have been queried, but it should be expected that examples exist there. Since specimens 7–9, because they lack a loop, seemingly cannot be related to any of Simon’s invoice entries it may be assumed that there were earlier or later invoices now lost or, if they exist, do not separate out the medals. However, the possibility

³² W. C. Abbott, *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell*, p. xix, Harvard 1929.

exists that the medals were attached to their chains in some other, non-permanent fashion, or that the loops were removed and the edge area polished to leave no trace. Specimens 6–9 could be repeats of 1–5.

10. For catalogue reference the following may be used:

‘Lord Protector Medal of Oliver Cromwell, by Thomas Simon (MI409/45)’

Type 1—gold, struck, *c.* 1656–1658 (Plate XII, 1, Lessen collection)

Type 2—silver, struck, *c.* 1658 (Plate XII, 2, British Museum, photo by Peter Davey, courtesy C. Southern)

Type 3—silver-gilt, cast, high quality, *c.* 1740 (Plate XII, 3, Lessen collection. 271.2 gr. with loop)

Type 4—silver, cast, high quality, *c.* 1740

Type 5—silver, cast, poor or average quality, *c.* late 18th–19th century (Plate XII, 4, Lessen collection. 147 gr.)

I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. P. P. Gaspar and Dr. R. E. Ockenden for numerous and useful critical comments and suggestions, and to the museum personnel who have provided data over the years.

ADDENDA

Since the preparation of this paper Dr. Gaspar has uncovered a further *silver* medal reference. At the anonymous Sotheby sale 5 June 1907, lot 136 was an illustrated Lord Protector medal, sold to Ready for £36. I do not know if this was Talbot Ready, but medals were not in his 1916 sale. The letters are bifurcated, but I am unable to determine anything further from a photo of the plate illustration. The price was very high, and it was accepted as struck, which is probably true. This specimen, which is additional to the one in the British Museum, does not imply silver medals were issued as a lower level reward, although the trend may be in that direction.

The information on collars presented on p. 124 was obtained from discussions with Dr. Gaspar, and is based on the paper by P. P. Gaspar and G. P. Dyer, ‘Shouldered Dies and the Striking of Early Proof Coins’, read at the Colloquium on Dies held at the Royal Mint, 9 June 1976.



1



2



3



Æ STRUCK



Æ STRUCK



Æ—GILT CAST



4



Æ CAST



2 (2x)

MISCELLANEA

A GROUP OF THREE SCEATTAS FROM EXCAVATIONS AT MUCKING, ESSEX

AT Mucking, on a gravel terrace 5 km. north of Tilbury, Mr. W. T. Jones, F.S.A., and Mrs. M. U. Jones, F.S.A., have been conducting an outstandingly productive excavation since 1965. Finds go back to the 'Beaker' period, but occupation was intense in the Iron Age, Roman, and early Anglo-Saxon.¹ Over 100 *Grubenhäuser*, or 'sunken huts', have been found, some of which are very large and these appear to be the latest features before migration (?) to the present village site 2 km. east, perhaps soon after Barking minster came into possession (endowment completed *temp.* Erkenwald, 675 to his death there in 693). The excavation is now drawing to a close, but late in 1976, at TQ 668976, on the floor of one of these large *Grubenhäuser* were found three 'sceattas' (the 'quorum' for a 'hoard'?) in close association, low enough to preclude deposit after the sinking began to be filled up. The find has

¹ British Archaeol. Report No. 6, *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape*, ed. T. Rowley (1974), pp. 20-35.

been published in *Antiquaries Journal*, lvii 5 (1977) p. 321, with the numismatic reasoning involved 'spelled out'. Here this can be treated summarily.

All three are of *BMC* type 26, i.e. the BX group of Series B (pp. 21-30 of this volume). They constitute the first recorded find of BX, which is clearly the preliminary issue of Series B, very close in style to BI, but never found with it on any recorded occasion, whereas BI often lingers in association with BII. Hitherto only five examples of BX were known: three recorded in my list of 1960 (ignore the no. 4, which is atypical and most probably BII)—one in the B.M. (*BMC* no. 123) and two formerly in the Lockett collection, of which one is now in E. M. Norweb collection (*SCBI*, *Norweb*, no. 44); two in my list of 1966—one in Copenhagen (*SCBI*, *Copenhagen* no. 38) and one in a Hesse sale, which seems to share its obverse die with the other Lockett specimen, both since untraced (but not the same).

Summary of BX dies

Obv. die	On bust	Obv. symbols in field	Obv. ring diam.	Legend		'Clock position'	Rev. symbols in field
				Obv.	Rev.		
1 B.M. 1.30 gm.	Annulets	—		○VANTMƿ~Λ	+EVA M○II VΛ+	2, 10	pellets. 3, 9
2 Lockett	Zigzags	Annulet r.	7 mm.	○VAN--MVΛI○	○VΛII VΛ~II VΛ○	2, 9½	—
3 Norweb 1.19 gm.	?	Cross r., annulet l.	8.5 mm.	+ΛVII○V(Λ?)-	+-----I VΛ+	2, 10	pellets. 3, 4, 7½, 9½
5 Copenhagen 1.29 gm.	Pellets	—	8 mm.	○TΛ--VΛHT○	○VΛII VΛ~VΛIIII○	2, 9½	—
6 Mucking, 1 1.08 gm.	Annulets	—	8.5 mm.	○TVΛ--II T○	----~VΛIIII○	2, 10	Pellets. 4½, 7½
7 Mucking, 2 1.18 gm.	—	—	8 mm.	VΛNVΛ~--	VΛII VΛV~VII	1½, 9	—
8 Mucking, 3 0.55 gm.	—	Annulet r.	9.5 mm.	Unclear	----V~T	1½?, 10?	Pellets. 3, 9

(Dies 3, 5, and 6 are somewhat similar.)

The Mucking trio brings the number known of this rare type to eight. Two of the three were cleaned in the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of the Dept. of the Environment and are illustrated on Pl. I, 2, 3. The third was very corroded and swollen, of light weight, perhaps bad alloy, and not amenable to cleaning, but enough was preserved to show that it had distinct dies (*Uncleaned*, Pl. I, 4). There are therefore eight coins known, from seven obverse dies: the details of all are summarized above. This contrasts sharply with the BI group, of which from forty known obverse dies, with up to four reverse dies apiece, over ninety specimens have now been described. Even allowing for the greater incidence of die-relations in hoarded coins and number of small grave hoards, as well as the predicted large hoard, now probably identified, this suggests that we have most of the obverse dies of BI, particularly in its earlier stage, and an average of over two examples per die—about three per die in the earlier stage, at which rates we should have had for BX about fifteen or twenty specimens respectively. In fact we have only eight, and a prediction of well over seven obverse dies: the coinage was not a minute one, but had at least a third as many obverse dies as the relatively plentiful earlier BIs. It was evidently totally suppressed and replaced by BI. If this was

because of poor metal, the Milliprobe analysis by Dr. Justine Bayley of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, given below, does not support it. Might it not indicate a 'clean sweep' to pay the Wergild of Mul (c. 694) or some other exaction, slightly earlier in the 'time of troubles'? It does not close the question, 'c. 695 v. c. 685 for BI'.

S. E. RIGOLD

Mucking Sceattas: milliprobe runs, 546, 547. A.M. no. 766524

Ag was detected strongly and Cu weakly. Au detected very weakly in one coin and possibly detected weakly in the other.

The relative peak heights ($K\alpha$ peaks) were Ag/Cu 690/16 and Ag/Cu 690/14. The relative peak heights are not an absolute measure of the concentration of elements present, but as Ag and Cu are chemically similar they can, in this case, give an approximate measure of composition.

It is probable that the Cu is only present in the Ag at a few per cent level at the most. For a more accurate estimate the machine would have to be calibrated with standards of known composition which we do not have.

Justine Bayley. 7/2/1977

THE 'SUFFOLK' FIND OF NINTH-CENTURY ANGLO-SAXON PENCE: A FURTHER NOTE

In the sale catalogue of the W. B. Rich collection of English coins, sold at Sotheby's on 7-9 July 1828, lot 37, a coin of Ecgberht of Wessex, is described as follows:

37 Ecgbeorht, Plate 14, No. 3, "Biorntod Moneta", *very fine and extremely rare*

The plate reference is to the plates that accompany Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, and it identifies the coin as an example of Ecgberht's monogram type, struck for him at the Canterbury mint from some point in the late 820s¹ either until his death in 839 or until shortly before his death.² The moneyer's name is to be read Biorntod.

The present writer recently acquired an interleaved copy of the Rich catalogue with contemporary annotations by the prominent nineteenth-century

collector J. D. Cuff. Opposite lot 37 there is a note that reads:

37 This was a remarkably fine penny and was one of a parcel of most splendid Heptarchic coins found very recently near Yarmouth. Mr. Rich bought it of Mr. Young for £10.10.0. bought for Col. Durrant.

It is known that the London coin dealer Matthew Young had through his hands at some date before his death in 1837 an important hoard of early ninth-century coins from an East Anglian source. The available information on it is summarized by Blunt, Lyon, and Stewart in their important paper on the coinage of the period in a previous volume of this *Journal*.³ They conclude that the hoard contained coins of kings Cænwulf, Ceolwulf, Beorn-

¹ *BNJ* xxxi (1962), p. 15.

² Mr. Lyon has suggested that there may have been a break in minting at the Canterbury mint during the last years of Ecgberht's reign (*BNJ* xxxvii (1968), pp. 218-25).

³ C. E. Blunt, C. S. S. Lyon, and B. H. I. H. Stewart,

'The Coinage of Southern England 796-840', *BNJ* xxxii (1963), pp. 1-74. The Suffolk hoard is discussed on pp. 43-5. I am most grateful to Mr. Blunt and Mr. Lyon for their assistance in connection with some of the problems discussed in the present note.

wulf, and Ludica, of whom the last mentioned and latest reigned in Mercia and East Anglia from 825 until his death in battle in 827, and that it contained at least one coin of King Baldred of Kent (reigned c. 823–5). They conjecture that it may also have contained a coin or coins of King Æthelstan, who appears to have assumed power locally in East Anglia following Ludica's death. As to the circumstances of the hoard's discovery and its history after discovery, they cite evidence that strongly suggests that coins from it were in Cuff's possession by November 1829, and they cite the Cuff sale catalogue of 1854 and a later letter as evidence that the hoard was found in Suffolk. The letter describes the hoard as one 'which came into the hands of Young the dealer & was bought of him in the mass by Mr. Cuff'.

It must be virtually certain that the coin in the Rich sale derived from this same hoard. Only two other significant hoards of coins of this period have been recorded, one from Ireland and one from London, and both found many years subsequent to the 1820s, and it would be too much of a coincidence that there should have been one early ninth-century hoard found near Yarmouth shortly before July 1828 and another found in Suffolk before November 1829, which both passed in whole or part through Young's hands. Cuff's description of the parcel from which the Rich coin came as consisting of 'most splendid' Heptarchic coins is also particularly appropriate as a description of the 'Suffolk' hoard with its fine run of rarities, especially since Cuff knew enough about the series not to use the word 'splendid' lightly.

The descriptions of the place of discovery as 'near Yarmouth' and 'Suffolk' are not by any means incompatible, and having regard to the fact that the Norfolk hinterland of Yarmouth was chiefly untamed marshland in the ninth century, one may provisionally conclude that the hoard was found in the north-eastern corner of Suffolk immediately south of Yarmouth; a coin of precisely this period found at Burgh Castle, on the river Waveney south of Breydon Water, has been in the British Museum since 1845.⁴ A findspot in north-east Suffolk for the hoard may add very slightly to existing scanty indications that the power base of the East Anglian kingdom lay in Suffolk, rather than Norfolk, and

in the east of the county rather than around Bury St. Edmunds.

As to the date of discovery, if the Rich coin had been found 'very recently' in July 1828, the presumption is that the hoard was found earlier in 1828 or else in 1827, but not earlier than that. Mr. Lyon possesses a copy of Ruding grangerized in June 1827 with drawings of Anglo-Saxon coins then in the cabinet of Mr. Joseph Barratt of Bath, one of Young's customers, and since these do not include any coins particularly likely to have come from the hoard that is perhaps indicative that the hoard had not yet reached Young by June 1827, although the argument is not a strong one.⁵

It remains to discuss the hoard's date of deposit. If it contained a coin of the monogram type of Ecgbert it is not likely that it was deposited before the late 820s, for Ecgbert only acquired the Canterbury mint when he ousted Baldred in 825 and when he did so he initially struck coins of the same general character as those of Baldred. The Delgany hoard of 1874 contained as its latest element three coins of Ecgbert, of which one was an early issue and two were of the monogram type, and on the basis of the presence in it of coins of the monogram type but the absence from it of coins struck at the London mint (otherwise well represented) after the mid 820s, the present writer has argued that the Delgany hoard was deposited c. 828.⁶ In discussing Ecgbert's monogram type in that context he distinguished two groups within it, one comprising coins with plain inner circles and with the top of the king's bust on the obverse defined by a line, as if he were wearing a cap, the other of coins with beaded inner circles and without this line, with the effect that the king is capless. The first group seemed to him to be early (and was the only group represented in the Delgany hoard), the second group late. With this in mind the monogram coin in the Rich sale deserves further scrutiny.

The description of the coin in the Rich catalogue is not helpful, for coins of the moneyer Biornmod are known of both groups. Cuff's note shows that it was bought at the sale for Col. Durrant (by Young), and it figures, with the Rich provenance, in the Durrant sale, 1847, lot 4. At the Durrant sale it was bought by the dealer H. O. Cureton for the Revd. J. W. Martin;⁷ at the Martin sale, 1859, it

⁴ A coin of Ceolwulf of Mercia (821–3), struck at an East Anglian mint by the moneyer Werbold (*BMC* 109).

⁵ Barratt's collection contained one coin of Æthelstan of East Anglia, of portrait type (Æthelstan's earliest) and struck by the moneyer Eadnoth. This is, however, most probably the coin of this description from the Dimsdale sale, 1824, lot 613, which is not from the 'Suffolk' find.

Otherwise, although Barratt's collection contained several early ninth-century coins it contained none struck at an East Anglian mint for Mercian rulers before 827 or for Æthelstan.

⁶ *BNJ* xxxi (1962), p. 15.

⁷ According to the annotated copy of this sale catalogue in the British Numismatic Society's Library.

was lot 1 and was purchased personally by Capt. R. M. Murchison; and at the Murchison sale, 1866, it was lot 141 and was purchased by the dealer C. R. Taylor. There its provable history ends, but the Murchison sale catalogue records it in sufficient detail to suggest that it was the coin of this type and moneyer which was lot 5 in the Montagu sale, 1897, and lot 60 in the Murdoch sale, 1903, where it was bought by Spink. Its subsequent fate is not known but it is illustrated in the Murdoch catalogue and the illustration shows it to have been a very typical coin of the group with beaded inner circles and capless bust which has seemed to be of later date within the type.⁸

If the Murdoch coin was the Rich coin and it is correct to assume that the group to which it belongs is a late one—the assumption is founded on the fact that nearly all the coins in that group carry the names of Bionmod or Bosel, moneyers who had not worked for Baldred, while the moneyers of the coins in the other group include four who had worked for Baldred—the Rich coin is likely to belong late in the monogram type and the hoard that contained it is not likely to have been deposited earlier than c. 835.

An alteration in the suggested date of deposit of the 'Suffolk' hoard from the c. 830 suggested by Blunt, Lyon, and Stewart to c. 835 increases the potential importance of the hoard both for the chronology of Ecgbert's coinage, of which other examples may have been present, and very significantly so for the chronology of the coinage of the king Æthelstan who followed Ludica in East Anglia after 827. Æthelstan's coinage has never been uncommon, but the accidents of discovery that have meant that it is well represented in present-day

collections have not as yet assisted numismatists with its internal chronology; Æthelstan's coinage was, for example, well represented in the 1893 Middle Temple hoard but so very well represented in it that that hoard must have been deposited almost at the end of his coinage activity.⁹ A hoard deposited in East Anglian territory c. 835, some seven years before the date of deposit c. 842 assignable to the Middle Temple hoard,¹⁰ would be of material assistance in dating Æthelstan's issues and of much greater assistance than one deposited c. 830 in which only the earliest of Æthelstan's issues were present. Mr. Blunt has drawn the writer's attention to a group of four coins of Æthelstan and one of Ecgbert which appear in the sale catalogue of the collection of the Revd. Francis Blick (Sotheby, 30 June 1843), with a note appended by the cataloguer to the coin of Ecgbert that it is 'apparently of the same find as those preceding of the East Anglian kings', and it may be that they are relevant.¹¹ In any case it will now be necessary to look afresh at the dozen coins of Æthelstan which figure in the Cuff sale and to decide which could be from the important but still shadowy hoard which may be summarized as follows:

Suffolk (near Yarmouth and presumably in the north-eastern corner of the county), before July 1828 and probably in 1827 or 1828. *Æ* Anglo-Saxon pennies, number unknown but including coins of Ludica of Mercia (825-7) and of his three predecessors; of Baldred of Kent (823-5); of Ecgbert of Wessex as king of Kent (825 onwards); and probably coins of Æthelstan of East Anglia (c. 827 onwards). Deposit c. 835(?).

H. E. PAGAN

⁸ The only other coins of this type and moneyer and without conflicting provenances that have appeared on the market since 1866 and might possibly have been the Rich-Durrant-Martin-Murchison coin are one in the Montagu sale, 1895, lot 456, ex Wyllie, and one in a Glendining sale of 13 March 1974, lot 74. They are much less likely candidates than the Murdoch coin.

⁹ Nothing is known of East Anglian history at this date and it is possible that Æthelstan ceased to coin before the end of his reign.

¹⁰ The Middle Temple hoard's date of deposit was

assigned to c. 842 by Mr. Blunt (*BNJ* xxviii (1955-7), p. 476). If Mr. Lyon is right in thinking that the bulk of the coins of King Æthelwulf in it were struck at the Rochester mint before his father Ecgbert's death, a date of deposit c. 840 would be more appropriate (*BNJ* xxxvii (1968), pp. 218-25, for the general argument, although no date of deposit is suggested there).

¹¹ Blick sale lots 85, 86, 87, 88, and 94. Lot 95, another coin of Ecgbert, may belong with them; lot 84, a coin of Eadmund of East Anglia (855-70), probably does not.

THE TWELFTH OF THE AGNUS DEI PENNIES OF ÆTHELRÆD II

On pp. 338-9 of P. A. Clemons and K. W. Hughes, edd., *England before the Conquest* (Cambridge, 1971), summary details were given of ten true coins of the so-called Agnus Dei issue of Æthelræd II (Hild. G; *BMC* x; Brooke 6; North 776; Seaby 671) which it was suggested belongs to the early autumn of 1009. A slightly fuller listing runs as follows:

1, 2. *Derby*, Blacaman. Die-duplicates in the British Museum (*ex* Lockett (1955), lot 713, etc., found

in London) and in the Bergen University collection (*ex* 1891 Nesbø hoard).

3. *Hereford*, Æthelwig. Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 1332—hoard-provenance unrecorded but most probably from the great 1866 discovery at Johannishus in Hjortsberga parish, Blekinge).
4. *Leicester*, Ælfric. Royal Coin and Medal collection, Copenhagen (*SCBI* 7, 507—*ex* 1859 Kelstrup hoard).
- 5, 6. *Malmesbury*, Ealdred. Die-duplicates in the British Museum (*ex* Rashleigh (1909), lot 298, etc., 'bought at [and ? found near] Boulogne' c. 1840) and the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 3086—hoard-provenance unrecorded but again most probably from the great 1866 discovery at Johannishus).
7. *Northampton*, Wulfnoth. Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 1284—*ex* 1838 Stale hoard from Rone parish, Gotland).
- 8, 9. *Nottingham*, Oswald. Die-duplicates in the Royal Coin and Medal collection, Copenhagen (*SCBI* 7, 1107—*ex* 1849 Enner hoard) and—cut farthing wrongly given to 'Hamtune'—Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 1293—again *ex* 1838 Stale hoard).
10. *Stafford*, Alfwold. Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 3423—*ex* 1874 Nygård's hoard from Västerhejde parish, Gotland).

An eleventh true coin of the type is known today only from an early nineteenth-century drawing:

11. *Stamford*, Æthelwine. Cf. K. F. W. Erbstein, *Numismatische Bruchstücke en Bezug auf sächsische Geschichte*, iii (Frankfurt-a-M., 1828), pl. ii, 23

but may safely be accepted inasmuch as it receives corroboration from a unique mule in the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm (BEH 3445) which is by the same moneyer, and which may even be from the same obverse die.¹

The purpose of the present note is to record the rediscovery of a twelfth coin of the type to which allusion only could be made in a footnote on p. 339 of the 1971 discussion. The piece is that published as no. 7 on p. 8 of W. Anderson, 'Achtzig neue Münzen aus dem Funde von Naginščina', *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis (Dorpatensis)*, xxxvii. 4 (1935), a rare enough work, especially where complete runs are concerned, in Western European libraries, and it was there illustrated as no. 7 on the accompanying plate. The



FIG. 1

¹ Cf. W. C. Wells in *BNJ* XXIV. ii (1942), pp. 95-7.

Naginščina hoard came to light in March 1895 near a tributary of the river Luga in the old Baltic province of Ingria to the south-west of the modern Leningrad (St. Petersburg) and just to the east of the present border between Esthonian Republic and the region of Novgorod in the U.S.S.R. A useful if summary account of the find will be found in V. M. Potin's paper concerning Western European coins of the tenth to thirteenth centuries found on Ancient Russian soil.² Listed in various places have been no fewer than 1,016 coins from the hoard which Dr. Potin opines to have been concealed c. 1055. Anderson's paper of 1937, on the other hand, lists no English coin later than the middle of the 1040s, and precisely the same pattern is exhibited by the other parcels which are quite remarkably uniform in their inclusion of no more than the first two issues (Pax and Radiate Small Cross) of Edward the Confessor. The coins from all the other series represented in the find—Hiberno-Norse, Scandinavian, German, Bohemian, Hungarian, Polish, etc.—appear all to be consonant with the date of concealment suggested by the English element, and even on the strictest of interpretations do not seem to us to demand concealment any later than the end of the 1040s. Even for Dr. Potin, too, the *Schlussmünzen* have their *terminus antequam non* no later than 1047, while most recently Dr. K. Skaare has come up with a dating of the hoard 'after 1047'.³ There are grounds, too, for questioning whether the Danish coins in the hoard that have been attributed to Sven Estridsen really do necessitate a date of concealment much later than c. 1045. The coins in question are of the types Hauberg nos. 6 (2 examples), 35, 57 (cf. T. G. Applegren sale, Stockholm, 9 October 1913, lot 275), 68 or 69, and 70. All have blundered legends, and those which do not exhibit Byzantine influence could even belong to one or other of his predecessors. Even those with Byzantine motifs need not belong quite as late as has sometimes been supposed. The Harald Sigurdsson prototypes—or analogues?—must surely antedate the Norwegian king's return to Norway towards the end of 1047. One of the six extant specimens occurred in the 1880 Espinge (Äspinge) hoard from Skane where the substantial and critical English element is confined to the first three only of Edward the Confessor's issues, and where the thirty or so Danish coins of

Sven are dominated by those of pseudo-Byzantine type.⁴ Bearing in mind, then, the fact that both the Edward the Confessor types—but no more than the two—are present at Naginščina in some quantity, we would feel happier were the concealment of the hoard to take the form 'shortly before 1050'.

Naginščina, of course, had long ago joined all the other hoard-provenances in being useless for establishing the place of Agnus Dei within the sequence of Æthelræd's substantive issues. The Nesbø find had for its latest English type Pointed Helmet of Cnut, and is dated by Dr. Skaare 'after c. 1023'.⁵ The same holds good for the Kelstrup hoard, while the Enner find ends even later with Short Cross of the same reign. Not one of the non-Swedish hoards, then, can be dated earlier than a whole decade after Æthelræd's death. As regards the Swedish material, the Johannishus hoard has been dated by G. Hatz to the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century,⁶ and so is clearly irrelevant, while Dr. Skaare suggests a date 'after 1070' for the only less massive treasure from Stale⁷ which again agrees exactly with the German estimate. We are left with the Nygårds hoard dated by Dr. Hatz 'after 1036',⁸ though here the latest English coin appears to be of the Fleur-de-lis type of Harold I which would suggest a date rather nearer 1040.

Anderson's illustration of 1937 was of very uneven quality, the reverse in particular being quite indistinct. It was for this reason that the 1971 citation of it was reluctant to reproduce his transcription of the legends lest perhaps the Baltic scholar had been unduly influenced in his readings by the coin at Copenhagen. In June 1975, however, one of us (T. T.) was able both to inspect and to photograph the actual coin which in the interval had passed from the cabinet of a Tartu (Dorpat) businessman into the collections of the Historical Department of what has become the Esthonian Academy of Sciences at Tallinn (Reval). As enlarged prints (Fig. 1) make abundantly clear, the coin is in reality one of the very best preserved of all the extant pennies of the issue. The weight is 1.76 gm. (27.2 gr.), and the readings are:

Obv. ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLORVM
and

Rev. ÆLFRI | ELE | HE | RÆCESTR

² V. M. Potin *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaza*, ix (1967), pp. 128–9.

³ K. Skaare *Coins and Coinage in Viking-Age Norway*, Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø, 1976, p. 187.

⁴ Skaare, op. cit., pp. 67–8 and 120 n. 273; cf. P. Hanberg, *Mynforhold og Udmyntinger i Danmark indtil 1146*, Copenhagen, 1900, pp. 51 and 171, etc.

⁵ recte 1024? cf. Fornvännan, 1968, pp. 116–19.

⁶ G. Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit*, Stockholm, 1974, p. 231.

⁷ Skaare, op. cit., p. 185.

⁸ Hatz, op. cit., p. 223.

What comes as a major surprise is that both the obverse and the reverse dies should differ from those of the chipped coin of the same mint and moneyer in Copenhagen, even though it is clear that both pairs of dies were cut by one and the same hand. On both coins the tablet beneath the Lamb takes the same trapezoidal form, while its inscription is in each case without punctuation, but even in such minutiae the differences between the two dies should be obvious—the Tallinn coin, for example, reads AG | HV where the Copenhagen specimen has AG | NV. On the reverse particularly to be noted is the omission of the copulative, while the wings and tail of the Dove break the legend very differently.

The 1977 situation, then, is that there are known today a round dozen of Agnus Dei pennies or portions thereof, together with one cut-halfpenny mule where an obverse of the type is combined with what is demonstrably an early Last Small Cross reverse die of Stamford. The eleven true coins and one mule that are available for our inspection prove

to be from nine obverse dies with the Lamb and seven reverse dies with the Dove. In itself this is enough to suggest that we are faced with an intended substantive coinage which was early interrupted, and not with a series of patterns. Reinforcement for this line of argument comes from the circumstance that two pairs of dies should have been prepared for (and presumably supplied to) the one Leicester moneyer, and there is no doubt that the rediscovery of the Naginščina specimen has given a new dimension to our comprehension of one of the most celebrated, if also more widely misunderstood, of Anglo-Saxon coin-types. It is for this reason that we would like to express more than purely formal thanks to the Keeper of Coins at Tallinn, Dr. A. Molvõgin, for his kindness in making available what must be one of the jewels of a collection still insufficiently known to international scholarship. Our warmest thanks also are due, of course, to the British Academy for a research grant which made possible the visit of one of us (T. T.) to the Tallinn cabinet.

MICHAEL DOLLEY and TUUKKA TALVIO

SOME MONEYERS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR IN HILDEBRAND'S CATALOGUE¹

SEVERAL moneyers listed in Hildebrand's catalogue are recorded for their mint by one coin only. The occurrence of such a moneyer's name in the systematic collection in Stockholm may throw Hildebrand's attribution of the coin into doubt. Since the date of his catalogue many more coins of the reign of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1042-66, have come to light, and much work has been done on die-links and moneyers' names which has prompted alterations in early catalogues. A list of reattributions for the Anglo-Saxon coins in Hildebrand has already been published.² A systematic examination of the moneyers in this catalogue is warranted, not because of any ineptitude on the part of the well-respected numismatist, but because of the increase in material and improvement in methods at the disposal of the student today. In some cases this examination shows that a moneyer has to be deleted from the list of a mint for which, on the basis of Hildebrand, he has been recorded; in many cases the Hildebrand reading is vindicated, or at least not proved wrong.

Bristol. BEH 25 PACX SNEWINE. A moneyer called Sæwine is known for Cnut, Harold I, and Harthacnut. Ref. North p. 123.³ It is likely that the name on this coin of the first type of Edward the Confessor is misspelt, with an epigraphical substitution of NE for Æ in the name Sæwine. That Snewine is Snæwine is unlikely. The name-element *Snæ-* is recorded,⁴ but not in combination with the element *-wine*.

BEH 26 PACX WULFWINE. Wulfwine is known for Cnut, Harold I, and Harthacnut. Ref. North p. 123. His appearance on one coin of the Confessor is not surprising.

Canterbury. BEH 35 Trefoil-Quadrilateral EANWERD. The moneyer's name is unknown elsewhere for Edward, or for Harold I, Harthacnut, or Harold II; but the reading of the name is clear on the coin.

Chester. BEH 258 PACX ARGRIM. This name is not recorded elsewhere on coins, but Fargrim is known for Edward's Expanding Cross type (*SCBI* Chester

¹ B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiske Mynt*, 1881 (B. E. H.).

² G. Van der Meer, Some corrections to and comments on B. E. Hildebrand's *Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Swedish Royal Coin Cabinet*, in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. Michael Dolley (London, 1961).

³ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, i (London, 1963).

⁴ H. B. Woolf, *Old Germanic Principles of Name Giving*, Baltimore, 1939, pp. 174 and 176; and Olof von Feilitzen, *The pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Uppsala, 1937, p. 368.

and *BMC*⁵) and for Harthacnut, ref. North p. 123. It may be assumed that the moneyer of the coin in question is Fargrim, with mistaken omission of the initial consonant.

Chichester. BEH 58 Radiate LEOFNÖTH. Hildebrand, p. 432, records the inscription of the coin as

hi + LEOFNÖB ON CIE C

This description of the coin was included by H. H. King in his study of the coins of the Sussex mints in *BNJ* xxviii (1955-7), p. 66. King added a photograph or what was supposed to be another coin by Leofnoth of Chichester, said to be in the Stockholm museum. This second coin was recorded thus:

+ EDPER . D REX
+ LEOFNÖB ON CIE C

An examination of all the Edward the Confessor coins in the Stockholm coin cabinet, in the Hildebrand trays, and in the uncatalogued hoards, has led to the conclusion that only one of the two coins described by King exists, that this coin is BEH 58, and that the photograph submitted by King of a supposedly uncatalogued coin from Stockholm is a photograph of BEH 58.

A closer look at the reverse of this coin reveals that the mint-signature reads not CIE as Hildebrand recorded it, nor CIE as King had it, but GLE. The moneyer Leofnoth, known for Chichester by only two coins which prove to be the same penny, is known for Gloucester for the Pacx, Small Flan, and Pointed Helmet types. I conclude that Leofnoth can no longer be included in the list of Chichester moneyers, and that the coin BEH 58 is a coin of Gloucester.

Dorchester. BEH 85 Trefoil-Quadrilateral GODWINE. Godwine is known for Harold I and Harthacnut, ref. North p. 123, so his appearance for the third type of Edward the Confessor need not cause suspicion. There is no doubt about the mint-signature DOR.

Dover. BEH 80 Expanding Cross WULWII. The moneyer is unknown for the reigns preceding Edward's, and for Harold II and William. But the mint-signature is indisputably DOFER, and Wulfwi must continue to be included among the Dover moneyers.

Hythe. BEH 245 Radiate ÆLFWINE. The mint-signature clearly reads ON HYB. The moneyer is not known for Hythe for the reigns before and after

Edward. Only two other moneyers, Guthred and Goldwine, are recorded for the mint, Guthred on two coins in *BMC* and Goldwine on one. There is no reason to question the Ælfwine whose name occurs on only one coin.

Ilchester. BEH 173 Expanding Cross. ÆLFWINE. The mint-signature reads GICLST, and the moneyer must be accepted as a moneyer for the Ilchester mint.

BEH 175 Sovereign-Martlets mon. WULFRIC. Hildebrand p. 436 records the mint-signature on this coin as ON . . . EL. There is a piece broken out of the coin, so some of the legend is irrecoverable. But the following letters can be seen: ON¹ . . . PLES. The missing space would allow for three letters, and I would reconstruct the mint-signature as: ON G[LEA]PCES. This means that Wulfric is not an Ilchester moneyer, but belongs to the mint of Gloucester. Wulfric is not otherwise known for Edward, Harold I, Harthacnut, or Harold II at either Ilchester or Gloucester. The case for his being a moneyer for Gloucester rests on the evidence of the eye, in reading the mint-signature.⁶ But there may be some significance in the recurrence at Gloucester of the name-element *Wulf-* (Wulfgæt, Wulfwerd, Wulfwig), which might be thought to indicate familial links between the moneyers.⁷

Lincoln. BEH 303 Pacx CILLIN and BEH 313 Pacx CONLI. In both cases the transcriptions of name and mint by Hildebrand are clearly correct:

303. +CILLIN ONNLINCO
313. +CONLI ON LINC

There is no doubt that the mint is Lincoln, but the names occur neither for Lincoln nor for any other mints in the preceding or succeeding reigns.

BEH 302 Radiate BRUNING. Hildebrand p. 441 records the mint-signature on this coin as LIN. But it is clear that there is a properly formed upper horizontal on the initial letter, and the final letter is more like H. The mint has a name which is abbreviated by the signature CIH.

Bruninc is known for the Radiate type at Ipswich, BEH 177, 178, but these coins do not supply die-links with no. 302. The moneyer is not known at any other mint which a signature like CIH could possibly represent. Unless a coin of Bruninc's with an unquestionable Lincoln signature could be located, I would consider the attribution of BEH 302

⁵ *BMC: A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon series*, London, 1887-93, by C. F. Keary and H. A. Grueber.

⁶ Professor Michael Dolley's experienced eye supported my reading.

⁷ See Woolf and J. M. Kemble, 'The Names, Surnames and Nicknames [sic] of the Anglo-Saxons', *Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain, Proceedings at Winchester 1845*, pp. 81 ff., London, 1846, p. 88.

doubtful, but without further evidence, cannot make any suggestion about the mint.

BEH 319 Trefoil-Quadrilateral EDWINE. There is no doubt about the mint-signature on this coin, recorded by Hildebrand p. 442 as ONN LINCOL.

BEH 356 Small Flan LIFINC. Hildebrand's entry for this coin, p. 443, is as follows:

ir. 26, i. + LIFNC ON LINC B

H. R. Mossop, in *The Lincoln Mint*, records this coin as well as one of different dies by Lifinc, in Leningrad, and includes photographs of both coins, nos. 20 and 21, plate lxxii. A note pertaining to both coins reads: 'Last letter of mint illegible; possibly not Lincoln.'

A closer look at the coin in the Stockholm collection reveals the mint-signature LINDI, not LINC. The moneyer Lifinc is known for the London mint for Pacx, Radiate, Trefoil-Quadrilateral, Small Flan and Expanding Cross, and Sovereign Martlets, and Hammer Cross. For the Small Flan type the name occurs in the following collections: Hildebrand, Mack, Fitzwilliam, Copenhagen, and British Museum. I have not found a die-link between any of these coins and BEH 356, but because photographs are not yet available, have not been able to check the nine specimens in the British Museum. A search for obverse die-links with other Small Flan moneyers at London in the Stockholm trays was not fruitful.

The absence of such die-links does not prevent a connection of BEH 356 with London, and I have no doubt that Lifinc was not a Lincoln moneyer, but that this coin, and its fellow in Leningrad, are both from the London mint.

London. BEH 405 Small Flan ÆLFNOTH. The mint-signature of this coin reads LUN, as recorded by Hildebrand p. 444. Ælfnoth is known at Lincoln, but it would be inadvisable to assume that LUN was an error for a Lincoln signature. Ælfnoth remains as a moneyer at London.

BEH 510 Small Flan GOLDAN. There is no doubt about the mint-signature of the coin, LUN, for London.

Southwark. BEH 706 Pacx ÆLFRIC. There is no doubt about Hildebrand's transcription, p. 454, of the mint-signature as ON SUD. A halfpenny in the Copenhagen SCBI, of the Radiate type, reads ...RIC, probably to be interpreted as Ælfric.

Stamford. BEH 677 Pacx BRINIT. The mint-signature is clearly ON STAN, as in Hildebrand p. 453. The first element of the name is possibly a corrupt form of *Briht*,⁸ but the mint does not have a moneyer with this name-element, which could be associated with Brinit. Brinit remains as a moneyer for Stamford.

Wareham. BEH 751 Pacx WULFRIC. Hildebrand p. 456 has recorded the mint as PER. The signature is quite clear. Wulfric does not occur at any other mint which might suggest that PER did not mean Wareham. Wulfric remains a moneyer for Wareham.

BEH 750 Pacx LEOWIG. This moneyer has been reattributed to Warwick by G. Van der Meer in 1961.⁹ The coin reads .PERIC, not, as Hildebrand transcribed it, p. 456, .PERH. Leowig remains a moneyer for Warwick.

Worcester. BEH 757 Small Flan WULFWI. Hildebrand p. 456 transcribed the mint-signature as PIHER, and there is nothing to warrant a change in the reading of this or a reattribution of the coin.

Conclusion. From this examination of the coins of Edward the Confessor in the Stockholm coin cabinet the following emendations may be suggested for Hildebrand's catalogue:

BEH 58 is not Chichester, but Gloucester.

BEH 175 is not Ilchester, but Gloucester.

BEH 302 is uncertain, not definitely Lincoln.

BEH 356 is not Lincoln, but London.

These alterations allow the following conclusions about the moneyers: Wulfric is a new moneyer for Gloucester; Lifinc and Bruninc are not Lincoln moneyers; Leofnoth is not a Chichester moneyer; Wulfric is not an Ilchester moneyer.

F. E. COLMAN

COINS FROM THE WINCHESTER EXCAVATIONS 1961-1973

In the course of extensive excavations carried out at a variety of sites in Winchester between 1961 and 1973 under the direction of Mr. Martin Biddle,

⁸ See M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, Uppsala, 1919.

⁹ G. Van der Meer, *op. cit.*

¹ A few coins from the excavations by Mr. K. E.

F.S.A., a large number of coins have been unearthed, most of them as single finds but two as small hoards.¹ One of these, from the Cathedral Car Park, Qualmann, the City Rescue Archaeologist, in 1972-3, and some previously unrecorded finds in the Cathedral Library have been included in the final report; one (no. 19) appears here.

consisting of seventeen Long Cross pennies of Henry III, two Long Double Cross pennies of Alexander III of Scotland, and a Lippe denier of Long Cross type of Bernard III, has already been published with all the coins illustrated.²

A detailed account of all the coins found in the excavations will form part of the full excavation report. This is in preparation but by its very nature cannot appear for some time and, meanwhile, Mr. Biddle has most generously suggested that particulars of the more important coins might be made available to numismatists through the pages of this *Journal*, a suggestion readily adopted by the present writers. This report will therefore be selective and purely numismatic and will leave for consideration in the full report any implications of the coins on the excavation results.

It has been noticed that, as a general rule, fractional denominations tend to be isolated finds rather than from hoards and it is reasonable to suppose that a hoarder would normally select for saving whole pennies rather than the fractions. This has again been demonstrated in the Winchester excavations where, in the period of the penny coinage prior to the introduction of round fractions by Edward I, one round and ten cut halfpennies and three cut farthings were found, equivalent, if one deducts the Long Cross hoard that consisted entirely of pennies, to over one in five of the total of sixty-three coins of the period.

It is instructive to compare the distribution in point of time of the exactly 100 coins dating from between 700 and 1300 found at Winchester with the 181 coins of the same period recorded as found in Anglo-Saxon Southampton, i.e. the area near St. Mary's Church, known as Hamwih.³ Here the sceatta coinage figured strongly both as isolated finds and in hoards and in fact made up the actual majority of the total finds. By contrast, Winchester produced no more than a single sceatta. From the introduction of the penny to the first quarter of the tenth century Southampton finds remain substantial, helped, however, by a hoard, and thereafter tail off to the extent that no more than two English and two foreign coins were found of the three centuries 1000 to 1300. Winchester finds number no more than ten English and one foreign for the two centuries 800 to 1000; jump to thirty-one English and two foreign between 1000 and 1100 (all single finds); drop to eleven (all English) in the following century, of which five came from a little hoard; and rise again to forty-four between 1200 and 1300, half from a hoard.

Various sites have been involved in the excavations and abbreviations are used for them as follows: Cathedral Green, CG; Cathedral Car Park, CACP; Lower Brook Street, BS; Castle Yard, CY; Wolvesey Palace, WP; St. Paul's Church, SPC. The site abbreviations are followed by the year of discovery and the small-find number in the series for that site.

The coins are all pennies except where noted otherwise and those illustrated on Pl. IV are marked with an asterisk. No. 3 is illustrated by a line drawing.

*1. Sceatta. *BMC* type 5, North 48. Wt. 18.1 gr. CG 1965, 348.

*2. Alfred. *BMC* type V, North 629. +AELFRED-REXSA+; LVL LA: MON ETA. Wt. 22.4 gr. A very fine specimen of this rare type of which no more than three examples were known before the Cuerdale hoard.⁴ The only other specimen of this type by Lulla appears to be *BMC* 183. Both dies, however, differ. CG, 1964, 306.



FIG. 1

3. Edward the Elder. Round halfpenny. *BMC* type II, North 650. +EADVEARDREX; LEOF HEMO. Wt. 6.1 gr. Much corroded and fragmented but an X-ray photograph has brought up the legends in a manner that makes them acceptable. Only four round halfpennies of this reign had previously been known,⁵ two by the moneyer Biornwald and one each by Ciolulf and Wynberht. The moneyer on the new coin may be identified as Leofhe(lm). The name is found, in the form Liofshelm, on pennies of this type and of *BMC* type III, North 651.⁶ None of the ornaments to be expected on the reverse shows up in the X-ray. CG, 1964, 241.

*4. Edmund. *BMC* I, North 688. +EADMUND-REX; . / MART. / + + + / INMÖ: wedge-shaped stop at end of obverse legend. Wt. 24.7 gr. A coin of southern style, cf. *BMC* 101 and Forum hoard 352. A moneyer of this name struck also in the north-west (cf. *BMC* 98-100) but generally spelt the first element Mær. CG, 1965, 471.

*5. Eadwig. *BMC* I, North —. EADVIGREX; . + / LEOF / + + + / RICMÖ: +. Wt. 24.7 gr. This is a

² *NC* 1961, pp. 185-9.

³ *Proc. Hampshire Field Club*, xxv (1968), p. 76.

⁴ *NC* v (1842-3), pp. 11-12.

⁵ *BNJ* xxxi (1962), p. 45.

⁶ e.g. *BMC* ii, Vatican hoard 296-7; *BMC* iii, *ibid.* 443-4; Forum hoard 51.

variety with all the ornaments on the reverse crosses. Southern style. The moneyer appears to be unrecorded for the reign, though known for Eadred.⁷ The variant of the type seems unrecorded for both Eadwig and his predecessor but, though rare, is known of Edmund⁸ and Edgar.⁹ CG, 1964, 237.

*6. Æthelræd II. *BMC* IIIa, North 770 (Crux). Cut halfpenny of Maldon, moneyer Ælfwine. +ÆLF—ELDV. Wt. 9.7 gr. Cf. Hild. 3071. CACP, 1961, 575.

*7. Æthelræd II. *BMC* I, North 777 (Last Small Cross). London, moneyer Ælfric. +ÆDELRAED-REXAN; +ÆLFRICTONLVND. Wt. 27.8 gr. (chipped and corroded). Plated forgery. Base-cored forgeries of this class are known (cf. *BNJ* XXVIII. i (1955), pp. 185–9) but are very rare. Ælfric is recorded as a London moneyer in this type. CG, 1970, 2658.

*8. Cnut. *BMC* VIII, North 781 (Quatrefoil). Ipswich, moneyer 'Eldrnt'. +CNVTREXANGLO; +ELD RNT ONGI PESI. Wt. 15.4 gr. The moneyer's name must remain in doubt. It may be compared with Hild. 925 where the reading is ÆLBRHT and on which the mint-name has the same rather unusual reading. In this case it could be an abbreviated form of Æthelberht who is recorded as an Ipswich moneyer in this type (Hild. 927). BS, 1971, 6029.

*9. Cnut. *BMC* XIV, North 787 (Pointed Helmet). Winchester, moneyer Ælfsige. +CNVT//REXAN; +ÆLT.FSIGEO.NPI.N. Round G in moneyer's name. Wt. 14.0 gr. CG, 1967, 1352.

*10. Harthacnut. *BMC* Ia, North 809 (Jewel Cross). Gloucester, moneyer Wulnoth. +HARDA//---RE; +PULNOÐONGLE--V From same dies as Hild. 55. Wt. 12.5 gr. (chipped). WP, 1965, 566.

*11. Harthacnut. *BMC* Ia, North 809 (Jewel Cross). Shaftesbury, moneyer Ægelric. +HARDA//CNUTRE; +ÆGELRICONSCEFT Wt. not recorded. As Hild. 166. A mint of great rarity in this reign. Only two specimens in Hild. and one in *SCBI* Copenhagen. Of these only Hild. 166 is of the same type. CG, 1969, 1791.

*12. Harold I. *BMC* Vc, North 803 (Fleur de Lis). London, moneyer Lifinc. +HARO//LDREX; +LIF INC ONN: LVN Wt. 15.7 gr. Cf. Hild. 705. CG, 1969, 1870.

13. Edward the Confessor. *BMC* V, North 820/4 (Expanding Cross). Winchester, moneyer Ladmær. +EDPE//RDREX; LADMÆRONPINCES: Wt. not recorded. A moneyer known at Winchester in the following (Pointed Helmet) type but not previously in Expanding Cross. CG, 1969, 1883.

*14. William I. *BMC* III, North 843 (Canopy).

Malmesbury, moneyer Brihtwi. +PILLEMSIREX; +BRIHTPIONMEILI Wt. 14.3 gr. Brihtwi is recorded as a Malmesbury moneyer in the preceding (Bonnet) and following (Two Sceptres) types so that this new coin neatly fills a gap. CY, 1971, 370.

*15. William I. *BMC* VI, North 846 (Sword). Shaftesbury, moneyer Ælnoth. +PILLELMREX; +IELNODONSCEFT Wt. 19.7 gr. *BMC* records this variety from a coin then (1916) said to be in the collection of H. Symonds. It was not, however, in his cabinet when it was dispersed in 1973. The cataloguers, however, noted that a similar specimen had at some time previously passed through their hands. CG, 1964, 238.

*16. William I. *BMC* VI, North 846 (Sword). Cut halfpenny of a mint beginning s by the moneyer Godric. ---REXII; ---ODRCONS--- Wt. 9.5 gr. A moneyer Godric struck this type at Launceston where the mint-reading is SINTSTFNI (*BMC*, i, p. clxxiii and pl. xiv, 15) but neither die corresponds with those used for the present coin where it would appear that the mint reading is likely to be of some six letters. The same name is found at Salisbury on coins of the preceding and following types (*BMC* 364 and 470). It is also found at Southwark on the succeeding type with mint reading of five letters (*BMC* 474) and at Stafford in the next type but one (*BMC* 980). Certainty is not possible, but a Salisbury attribution seems the most likely. CG, 1964, 239.

*17. William I. *BMC* VII, North 847 (Profile/Cross Fleury). Cut halfpenny. London, moneyer? ---LLELM ---LIINDNI Wt. 7.4 gr. This form of the mint-name is found on a coin of this type by the moneyer Edwi (*BMC* 464) but both dies differ. CG, 1964, 176.

*18. William II. *BMC* II, North 852 (Cross in Quatrefoil). Cricklade mint, moneyer Edouf. +PILLELMRE +EOHIFIONCRICL Wt. 18.2 gr. Brooke cited this type for Cricklade from a solitary specimen in the Taunton Museum by the same moneyer but Mr. Elmore-Jones now has one too. Both dies, however, differ. On the latter coin the moneyer's name reads clearly EDOUF. CG, 1968, 1416.

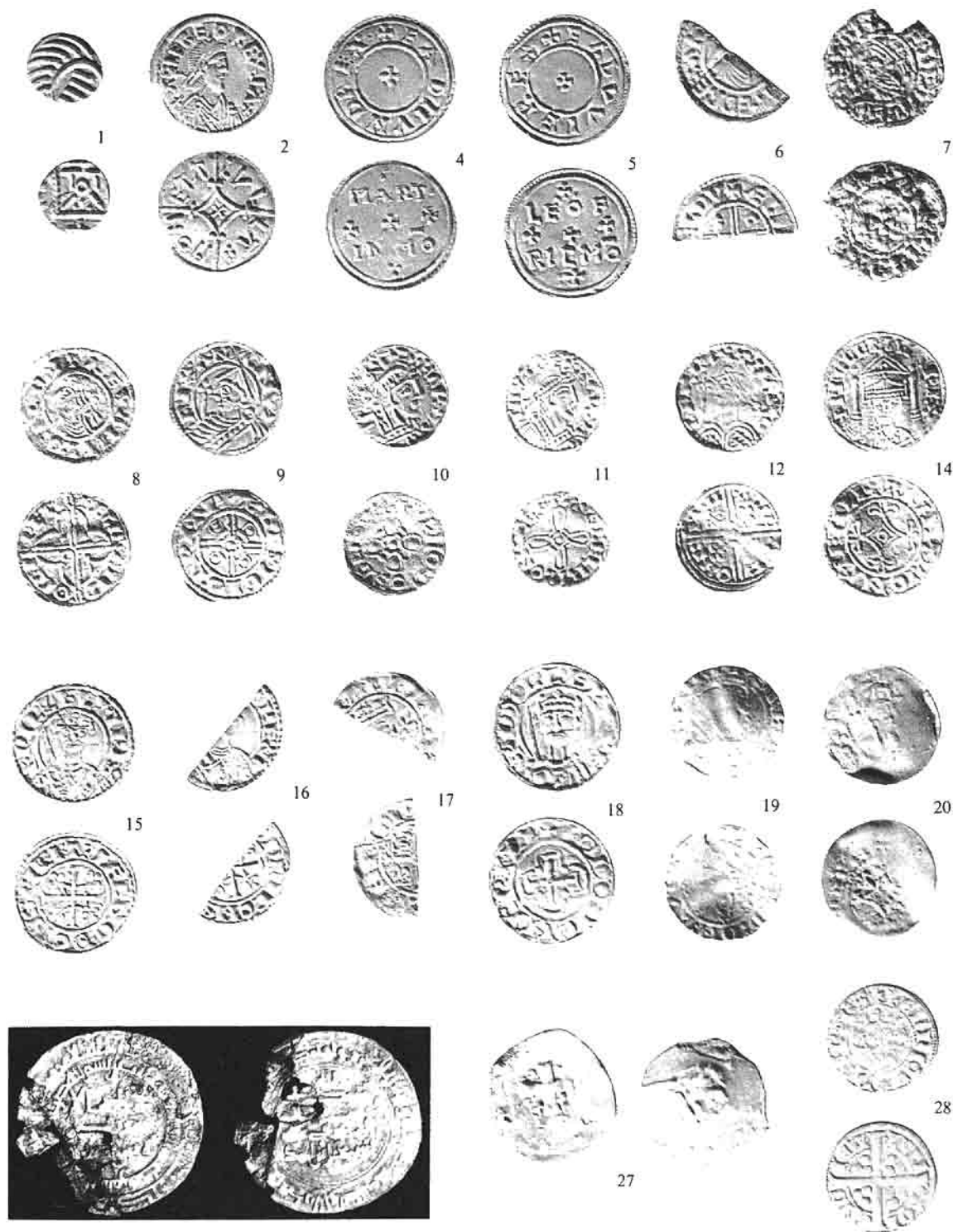
*19. Henry I. *BMC* XIV, North 870 (Pellets in Quatrefoil). London, moneyer Wulfward. HENRICVSREX: (omits initial cross) +PVLFRARD: ON:LVND (cf. *BMC* 152). Wt. 16.8 gr. Exceptional in omitting the obverse initial cross and in ending REX with three pellets after. SPC, 1972, 63.

*20. Henry I. *BMC* XV, North 871 (Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury). Mint and moneyer doubtful. +h--- +MEAV--- (retrograde). Wt. 15.7 gr.

⁷ *BMC* 64.

⁸ e.g. *BMC* 52.

⁹ e.g. *BMC* 139.



BLUNT AND DOLLEY, WINCHESTER EXCAVATIONS

The retrograde reverse legend, the coarse lettering, and the weight point to this being an irregular issue. CG, 1965, 382.

The following five Short Cross coins were found together at Wolvesey Palace in 1970 (WP, 1970, 2039-43) and may be taken to be a purse or small hoard lost c. 1200. The references are to the Lawrence types:

21. Type Ia. Northampton, moneyer Filipe. HENRICVS.RE//X + F---PE.ON.NORAMTV Wt. 16.8 gr. WP, 1970, 2043.

22. Type Ib. London, moneyer Fil Aimer. HENRICVS.R//EX + FILAIMER.ON.LVN Wt. 14.3 gr. WP, 1970, 2039.

23. Type Ib. Winchester, moneyer Rodbert. +RODBERT.ON.WIN Wt. 17.4 gr. WP, 1970, 2042.

24. Type Ib. Worcester, moneyer Osber. Cut halfpenny. +OSB-----RIC Wt. 7.3 gr. WP, 1970, 2041.

25. Type IVb. Canterbury, moneyer Ulard. +VLA-----CANTI Wt. 19.7 gr. WP, 1970, 2040.

Nothing significant was found in the later English series.

Among the foreign coins that were found may be noted the following:

*26. Kufic dirham. Samanid ruler, Isma'il ibn Ahmad. A.H. 279-295 = A.D. 892-907. Mint of

Samarkand. The date is illegible but the late Dr. Walker regarded A.H. 285 (A.D. 898) as likely. The coin which, when discovered, was completely illegible has been skilfully cleaned and repaired by Mr. K. A. Howes of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum. ACS, 1964, 437.

*27. Normandy denier dating probably from the first quarter of the eleventh century, at latest 1030-40. Poey d'Avant, no. 149. Wt. 13.9 gr. Coins of this type were found in the hoard from Châteauneuf-sur-Cher, buried c. 1030-40 (cf. J. Lafaurie, *Le Trésor du Puy*, RN, 1952, p. 116). We are indebted to Madame F. Dumas for these particulars. CG, 1969, 1899.

*28. Lorraine, Duke Ferri IV, 1312-29. Denier of Toul of sterling type. +FERRICVSDEIGARS LVN TOI ENG IEN Wt. 13.4 gr. This combines the obverse of Chautard 190 with a reverse of his no. 197. A similar coin was found in the Carsphairn, Galloway, hoard (NC, 1914, p. 383). WP, 1968, 1270.

Five of the coins listed here, nos. 1, 4, 11, 13, and 15, are presently missing, believed stolen. All had been previously examined by the authors and photographs or casts of all except one (no. 13) are available. The weights of nos. 11 and 13 are not known; those of nos. 1, 4, and 15 should be treated with reserve.

MICHAEL DOLLEY and C. E. BLUNT

CLASS II COINS OF THE LONG CROSS COINAGE 1247-1248

UNDER Lawrence's classification¹ class II is not subdivided, but from examining the coins of this class it is evident that they can be subdivided quite satisfactorily using the letter 'x' of REX. There are two forms of 'x' used; the first (Fig. 1) is the same as that used on the coins of class I² and the second (Fig. 2) is used on subsequent classes up to and including class Va.³ Lawrence's article on the Long Cross coinage is unclear about the two forms of 'x' appearing on the coins of this class. He states quite clearly that the 'x' used on class II is of the first form (Fig. 1), that is the same as that used on class I, and that the second form (Fig. 2) was not used until

class III.⁴ This is confirmed in his listing of the class II obverse readings for the main mints where the 'x' used on class I (fig. 1) is used throughout.⁵ Then contradicting what he has already stated, he uses both forms of 'x' under the obverse readings which he gives for the provincial mints striking in class II.⁶

The issue is confused but if, still retaining Lawrence's description as the main distinguishing feature, the class is subdivided into classes IIa and IIb, IIa having the first form of 'x' and IIb the second form of 'x', then some interesting results are obtained.

¹ *BNJ* ix (1912), pp. 145-79, x (1913), pp. 69-93, xi (1914), pp. 101-19.

² Under Lawrence's classification class I was subdivided into I* and I but these are now generally known and referred to as Ia and Ib respectively. And where references are made to 'class I' then this refers to class I as a whole and not to Lawrence class I (Ib).

³ Mr. J. J. North in the illustrations of the lettering used on the Long Cross coinage given in *English Hammered Coinage*, vol. i, p. 167, shows both forms of letter x appearing on class II.

⁴ *BNJ* ix (1912), p. 150.

⁵ *BNJ* x (1913), pp. 75-6, 82, and 89.

⁶ *BNJ* xi (1914), pp. 103-19.



FIG. 1. IIa x 2



FIG. 2. IIb x 2

If reference is made to Table A it will be seen that the main mints of London, Canterbury, and Bury St. Edmunds not surprisingly struck coins of both class IIa and IIb. But in the case of the provincial mints that were in operation in class II, Lincoln, Northampton, and Winchester only struck coins of class IIa; and Exeter, Gloucester, Norwich, Oxford, and York royal only struck coins of

class IIb. The only exceptions to this are at Northampton and Exeter, where to date I have seen one class IIb Lucas of Northampton and one class IIa Philip of Exeter. Also Lawrence lists Ricard and Ion of Lincoln and Tomas of Northampton with the class IIb form of 'x',⁷ but I have not yet been able to trace any examples of them and so have indicated them in Table A with a letter L.

Lawrence dated class II to 1248 and added that probably the three main mints started issuing these coins a little earlier than the provincial mints.⁸ Some twenty or so years after Lawrence's article, Mr. Wells published an article entitled 'Notes on the long cross coinage of Henry III 1247-1250'.⁹ The article contained the translations of a number of writs from which Mr. Wells was able to suggest, among other things, an improved dating for class II. Of these writs one was dated 26 February 1248¹⁰ and was for the opening of the mints at Lincoln, Northampton, Winchester, Norwich, and Exeter, all of which commenced by striking coins of class II. Another was dated 10 October 1248¹¹ and was for the opening of the mints at Bristol, Carlisle, Hereford, Ilchester, Newcastle, Shrewsbury, Wallingford, and Wilton, all of which commenced by striking coins of class III. The elected officials for the first group of mints had to be at the exchequer in London to take their oaths on 15 March 1248, and those in the second group likewise between 1 and 8 November 1248. From these two writs and another dated 16 July 1248,¹² in connection with employing from abroad workmen capable of minting or exchanging silver, Mr. Wells suggested that the provincial mints even though authorized on 26 February 1248 did not commence striking coins till the summer of 1248.¹³ Further, as the second group of mints commenced by striking coins of

TABLE A

Mint and moneyer	IIa	IIb	Mint and moneyer	IIa	IIb
<i>London</i>			<i>Exeter</i>		
Nicole	X	X	Philip	X*	X
			Ion		X
<i>Canterbury</i>			Robert		X
Nicole	X	X	Walter		X
Gilbert	X	X			
Willem	X	X	<i>Norwich</i>		
			Hvge		X
<i>Bury St. Edmunds</i>			Iacob		X
Ion	X	X	Ion		X
			Willem		X
<i>Winchester</i>			<i>Gloucester</i>		
Hvge	X		Ion		X
Ivrdon	X		Ricard		X
Nicole	X		Lvcs		X
Willem	X		Roger		X
<i>Lincoln</i>			<i>Oxford</i>		
Walter	X		Adam		X
Willem	X		Gefrei		X
Ricard	X	L*	Henri		X
Ion	X	L*	Willem		X
<i>Northampton</i>			<i>York (Royal)</i>		
Philip	X		Alain		X
Willem	X		Ieremie		X
Tomas	X	L*	Ion		X
Lvcs	X	X*	Rener		X

X - Coins seen by writer.

L - Coins given by Lawrence but not seen by writer.

* - Represented by only one coin in each case.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 109 and 112.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 84-5.

⁸ BNJ ix (1912), p. 166.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 85-6.

⁹ BNJ xxii (1934-7), pp. 79-107.

¹² Ibid., p. 87.

¹³ Ibid.

class III, he suggested that class II as a whole must have ceased around the end of the year 1248.¹⁴ Also he suggested that as the provincial mints did not commence issuing class II until the middle of 1248 this must also have been the case at the three main mints.¹⁵

This dating for both main and provincial mints can be improved if the division of class II into IIa and IIb is adopted. The dating for the provincial mint class II coins can only be marginally improved but this assists greatly with the dating of the class II coins of the main mints. The revised dating is as follows and is shown in Table B.

TABLE B

Class	Mints	Dating	
		Start	Finish
IIa	Main	Jan./Feb.	Summer 1248
IIb	Main	Summer	Towards the end of the year 1248
IIa } IIb }	Provincial	Summer	Towards the end of the year 1248

The provincial mints

If between three and six months are allowed for each of the provincial mints that struck in class II to commence operating, then as Mr. Wells suggested, but for a different reason, their opening dates would be in the summer of 1248. Three to six months would seem a reasonable period of time to allow, as the Shrewsbury mint,¹⁶ which opened in the second

the mints that struck in class IIa would have opened some time between early and middle summer and those that struck in class IIb some time between middle and late summer. There is also further evidence to suggest that the change from IIa to IIb took place in the summer of 1248, for even though no writ has yet been found for the opening of the royal mint at York, two writs were issued on 20 July 1248 in connection with the archbishop's mint at York, one of which implies that the royal mint at York had already been authorized.¹⁷ Now as the royal mint at York was almost certainly authorized after the five mints mentioned in the writ of 26 February 1248 and that in class II it only struck coins of class IIb, this would suggest that it must have been authorized some time between the end of February and the middle of July 1248, and when it did open the change from IIa to IIb had already taken place.

It is also worth mentioning that no writs have yet been found for the opening of the mints at Gloucester or Oxford, but they would probably have been authorized at the same time as York royal for they also only struck in class IIb.

The date for the ending of class IIb remains unchanged, that is towards the end of the year 1248.

The main mints

For the main mints, I would suggest that they started issuing coins of class IIa around January/February 1248 as Bury St. Edmunds was, in a writ dated 26 December 1247,¹⁸ authorized to have a die



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

Contemporary imitations, actual size.

FIG. 3. IIIa/IIa reverse die-link with Fig. 4. 1.286 gm. FIG. 4. Vc/IIa 1.296 gm. *BNJ* xxii, p. 83.

wave of provincial mints, did not open until nearly four months after being authorized.

The summer of 1248 would appear also to be the date for the change from IIa to IIb as in the majority of cases the mints either struck coins of class IIa or IIb but not both (see Table A). Almost certainly

for the minting of the new money. The earliest coins for Bury St. Edmunds are of class Ib and the die referred to in the writ must have been for the striking of coins of this class. Now class Ib for Bury St. Edmunds is extremely rare¹⁹ and could only have been issued over a very short period, probably only

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁶ J. D. Brand 'The Shrewsbury Mint, 1249-50', in *Mints, Dies and Currency*, ed. R. A. G. Carson,

pp. 129-50.

¹⁷ *BNJ* xxii (1934-7), p. 87.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁹ Only about five examples known.

two or three weeks, thus giving a starting date for class IIa of around the end of January/February 1248. Mr. Wells did suggest, though, that Bury St. Edmunds struck coins of class Ia as he had in his possession a supposedly genuine 5c/Ia mule, illustrated in his article.²⁰ The reverse legend read *ANGLIE TERCIS*, the *s* supposedly being the ultimate abbreviation for Bury St. Edmunds. However, the coin is a contemporary imitation for I have found

a reverse die-link with another contemporary imitation of a IIIa/Ia mule.²¹

The date for the ending of class IIa and the beginning of class IIb in the main mints would have been the same as for the provincial mints, that is the summer of 1248. The ending of class IIb would again be the same as for the provincial mints, that is towards the end of the year 1248.²²

R. L. DAVIS

PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF A DIE-ANALYSIS OF APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED EARLY EDWARD I PENCE OF THE MINT OF BERWICK-ON-TWEED

Introduction

As is well known, the Edwardian pence of the semi-Scottish mint of Berwick do not, with one exception, conform with the contemporaneous English issues. The classic study of this coinage is by Christopher Blunt,¹ who proposed a subdivision into eight main types arranged in a chronological order largely on the basis of mules between the various issues. Types I to IV inclusive were further subdivided, the sub-types being designated alphabetically. Mr. Blunt postulated that the initial issue (type I) which was of comparatively good style and had the obverse legend beginning *EDWR*, was interrupted by the siege of Berwick from autumn 1296 to spring 1297, during which period a group of crude and ill-struck coins was produced which could well have been siege-pieces to pay the besieged English troops in the castle. Following the relief of the town, coinage of good style was struck once again, the immediate post-siege issue being identified with Blunt type III.

Blunt divided his type I into sub-types Ia and Ib on differences in the obverse legend. It will be shown below, however, that two distinct face and crown punches were used giving rise to what may be described as wide-face and narrow-face issues respectively. The supposed siege coins were divided into

three quite sharply defined issues based on differences in style, lettering, and legend. The post-siege issue, type III, is complex and includes a number of distinct issues. Type III is, in fact, a convenient grouping of coins of good style having in common the obverse reading *EDWA* (in contrast to the *EDWR* reading of type I), but lacking the characteristic seriated *V* of the subsequent type IV. Within type III Blunt recognized two sub-types a and b depending on whether there was a Gothic *N* or a Roman *N* in *DNS* of the obverse legend. He considered that these sub-types probably represented parallel issues. Mr. Stewart, on the other hand, considered that the two issues were sequential,² with the Gothic coins being the earlier, and pointed out that the coins of type III are similar to those of Type I.

It is apparent from the lists given by Blunt (pp. 47-52) that there is extensive muling between types I and II, and that several different obverse and reverse dies based on details of the legend can be recognized within sub-type IIa, but these lists give no idea of the large number of dies involved, nor of the complexity of the die-linking. Furthermore, some of the coins included by Blunt in sub-type IIIa are strikingly similar in style to the wide-face issues of type I, apparently differing only in the details of the obverse legend and the possession of a Gothic *N* in *DNS*. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider

coins from the Brussels hoard and in particular to Mr. Michael Sharp who had the task of finding them for me, to Mr. Peter Woodhead for allowing me to examine his collection, to Mr. John Brand for his valuable advice, and lastly to all the other individual collectors and dealers who corresponded or allowed me to examine their coins.

²⁰ *BNJ* xxii (1934-7), pp. 82-4.

²¹ Both coins are in the possession of A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd., who kindly lent them to the writer so that they could be exhibited at the April 1977 meeting of the society when the writer gave a short paper entitled 'Class II coins of the long cross coinage 1247-48'.

²² I would like to thank the British, Birmingham, and Royal Mint museums and their staff for their co-operation in allowing me access to their collections, especially Miss Marion Archibald for all her valuable time and assistance. I am also most grateful to A. H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd. for allowing me to examine the

¹ C. E. Blunt, 'The Mint of Berwick-on-Tweed under Edward I, II, and III', *NC* 1931, pp. 28-52.

² B. H. I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* (1967), p. 128.

Blunt types I, II, and IIIa wide-face as a group of potentially inter-related issues which should be susceptible of die-analysis. The present paper records the results of such a die-analysis of a total of 101 coins from the Ashmolean and British Museums, and from the private collections of Mr. C. E. Blunt, Mrs. M. Delmé-Radcliffe, Messrs. D. Greenhaugh, J. J. North, B. H. I. H. Stewart, P. Woodhead, and of the author. These 101 coins can be classified as follows: 48 coins with Blunt type I obverses comprising Ia (20), Ib (15), Ia/IIa mules (5), Ib/IIa mules (7), Ia/IIb mules (1); 43 coins with Type II obverses comprising IIa (31), IIb (8), IIc (4); 10 coins of sub-type IIIa wide-face.

Before considering the dies represented, a number of points are immediately apparent from this listing of a relatively large number of coins as preserved in collections with all the inherent selectivity that that implies:

1. Pure coins of I and IIa are relatively common, but pure coins of IIb, IIc, and IIIa wide-face are considerably less so.
2. Ia/IIa and Ib/IIa mules are not so rare as is generally assumed, but Ia/IIb mules must be regarded as extremely rare, the only example known to Blunt being that figured by him (plate I, fig. 3) from the L. A. Lawrence (now British Museum) collection and included in this study. A second Ia/IIb mule has recently been recorded

4. Mules exists between type I and sub-types IIa and IIb, but no mules have been noted between I and IIc.
5. There are no mules noted between types II and III in either direction, nor between types I and III.

The dies identified in the present study are distributed as follows:

	obv.	rev.	
Type I:	17	12+	(not fully investigated)
Type II:	16		
Sub-type IIa:	11	21	(of which 5 occur muled with type I obverses)
IIb:	3	4	(of which 1 has been noted only as a mule with a type Ia obverse: Blunt, pl. 1, fig. 3)
IIc:	2	2	
Type IIIa wide-face:	3	3	
	36	30	excluding type I
	—	—	

Blunt type I

The die-analysis of the forty-eight coins with type I obverses has revealed that the issue is more



FIG. 1. Wide face



FIG. 2. Narrow face

by Mayhew³ from the Aberdeen Upperkirkgate hoard, but this author does not know whether it comes from the same pair of dies as the Blunt coin.

3. The muling between types I and II so far invariably involves a type I obverse and a type II reverse, even though the opposite might have been expected from the postulated chronological sequence.

complex than realized hitherto, and that the present classification is more artificial than natural. Blunt divided his type I into sub-types Ia and Ib according to whether the obverse legend terminated in hvb or hvd respectively, and implied that the reading hvd was just a copying error which was very soon corrected. It will be seen below, however, that approximately half the total number of obverse dies of type I have this error reading, and that they occur

³ N. J. Mayhew, *BNJ* xlv (1975), p. 47.

as coins at least as frequently as do the supposedly 'correct' obverses. More to the point is the fact that within type I there are two basic issues each with its own distinctive crown, as follows:

Wide-face issue: characterized by short wide cheeks, a flat-ended rather bulbous nose and a crude pellet termination to the chin (see Fig. 1). Example: Blunt, pl. 1, fig. 2.

Narrow-face issue: characterized by long narrow cheeks, a thin and markedly pointed nose, and a pointed chin without pellet termination (see Fig. 2). Example: Blunt, pl. 1, fig. 1. The half-penny published by North⁴ appears to belong here.

Each of these two issues includes the two legend readings hvb and hvd. Subdivision of type I on the above basis thus cuts right across Mr. Blunt's classification into Ia and Ib. The obverse dies so far identified are distributed between the wide-face and narrow-face issues as follows, (m) signifying a die which may occur muled with a type II reverse die, and (M) a die which has been noted so far only as a mule with a type II reverse die:

Wide-face dies (5):		
hvb	}	Ia: 3 dies
hvb irregular style (m): e.g. Blunt, pl. 1, fig. 2		
hvb'		
hvd' reading EDWR' (m)	}	Ib: 2 dies
hvd' reading EDRA (M): e.g. Blunt, pl. 1, fig. 4		
Narrow-face dies (12)		
hvb: 5 dies of which 2 are (m) (one of the (m) dies occurs muled only with a type IIb reverse die, e.g. Blunt, pl. 1, fig. 3)	}	Ia: 6 dies
hvb' ++ (m)		
hvd: 5 dies: e.g. Blunt, pl. 1, fig. 1	}	Ib: 6 dies
hvd (M)		

Where the possibility of or exclusive muling with a type II reverse is recorded it should be noted that a single reverse die is involved except in the case of the narrow-face Ib die which has been seen to mule with four different reverse dies. Of the narrow-face dies only one has a terminal apostrophe to the legend, and that is the anomalous die with a double (not double-struck) initial cross. Different narrow-face dies can be recognized by variation in the legend/stopping e.g. EDWR'A, EDW'RA, EDWRA, the occurrence of barred or unbarred As, and the presence or absence of pellet ornaments in the crown.

Summarizing the above distribution of obverse dies:

Out of seventeen dies

- (i) 9 are Ia, of which 5 are known to be represented by 3-4 coins.
8 are Ib, of which 3 are known to be represented by 3-4 coins and 1 by 5 coins.
- (ii) 4 out of 9 Ia dies may occur muled with type II reverse dies.
3 out of 8 Ib dies may occur muled with type II reverse dies.
- (iii) Out of 5 wide-face dies 3 may occur muled as against 4 out of 12 narrow-face dies. Although with such a small sample the differences lie within the margin for statistical error, there is nevertheless a suggestion that the wide-face issue may be closer to type II in a chronological sense than the narrow-face issue. On the other hand, one of the narrow-face dies occurs muled with 4 different type II reverse dies.

Blunt sub-type IIIa wide-face

As noted previously, type III is a complex and possibly artificial grouping. Classification into two sub-types a and b depending on the use of a Gothic Ω or a Roman Σ in DNS leads to exactly the same kind of problems as with type I, as it forces together issues which are clearly distinct, and separates others which appear to be related. Thus, the conventional classification associates a crude wide-face issue (e.g. Blunt, pl. 1, fig. 10) with another issue of better style (e.g. Blunt, pl. 2, fig. 1) which may occur with either the DNS or DNS reading. The three obverse dies of the wide-face issues identified to date exhibit a close similarity in face, hair, and crown details with those of type I wide-face, and it is possible that the same or only slightly modified punches may have been used. In fact, the only reliable way of distinguishing a IIIa wide-face obverse from a I wide-face obverse appears to lie in the legend, thus:

Type I: EDWR' ANGL' DNSHVB (or some variant of this)

Type IIIa: EDWARANGLD Ω SHVB

Note in particular the absence of the wedge and crescent stops that characterize type I.

Although IIIa wide-face appears to be tied stylistically to type I, there is considerable stylistic hiatus between the former and the remainder of the issues comprising type III. Where mules are recorded between IIIa and type IV, e.g. by Stewart,⁵ they involve a IIIa wide-face obverse, and not the type exemplified by Blunt, pl. 2, fig. 1, but reading DNS.

⁴ J. J. North, 'An Unpublished Halfpenny of Berwick-on-Tweed', *NCirc.* lxxxiii. 2 (1975), pp. 56-7.

⁵ Stewart, *op. cit.* p. 130.

On the other hand, IIIa wide-face cannot be directly linked with type I as different punches appear to have been used in the case of some of the letters (e.g. L, R), thus enabling the distinction of a IIIa from a I reverse in the absence of the characteristic WILLA reading. The correct chronological position of IIIa wide-face is therefore problematical. The possibility arises that this issue was struck before the siege, either prior to type I in the definitive sense, or else immediately pre-siege. The other possibility is that IIIa wide-face does in fact represent the immediate post-siege issue as implied by Stewart in part. None of these possibilities can be substantiated on the present lack of muling evidence which effectively places this issue in an isolated position.

The siege-period issues (Blunt type II)

The die-analysis has revealed an amazing degree of complexity, involving the relatively large number of sixteen obverse and twenty-seven reverse dies, with extensive die-linking between them. These totals disguise the occurrence of the conventional English 1:2 obverse:reverse die ratio in sub-type IIa (11:21), and the fact that the corresponding die-ratios for IIb and IIc approximate to 1:1. It is also of interest that where muling occurs between a type II reverse and a type I obverse, the reverse die is almost invariably a IIa, and so far never a IIc. IIc is far cruder in style than the other supposed siege issues, and Mr. Blunt even considered the possibility that they might be (contemporaneous) forgeries; here again, the absence to date of any muling link also throws this issue into isolation, but it should be noted that no muling has so far been recorded between the other two issues IIa and IIb, which can definitely be linked with type I by muling.

Concluding remarks

It has been shown that Blunt type I can be subdivided into two issues, but there is as yet no clear evidence whether they were parallel or sequential.

Although the bust style represents the more natural criterion for classification it is suggested that future hoard reports should retain the Blunt classification into Ia and Ib with the description wide-face or narrow-face in parentheses.

No explanation is available for the apparent lack of II/I mules, although Mr. Mayhew (verbal communication) has suggested the interesting possibility that the type I reverse dies were used up more rapidly than the obverse dies and that only the latter were carried over into the siege period when they were used in conjunction with II reverses. Certainly all the type I obverse dies in I/II mules examined appear to be very worn and broken, and even corroded in some cases.

The apparent isolation of the issue designated IIIa wide-face is also puzzling, but this may have represented a deliberate attempt to start again with an entirely new issue at the end of the siege, but basing the design closely on certain of the coins of the pre-siege issue (B. H. I. H. Stewart, personal communication).

It must be emphasized that this study provides little more than indications of the possible inter-relationships involved in the early issues of the Berwick mint, and that the data do not suffice for statistical interpretation. It is intended to expand this study with the examination of coins in the other main museum and private collections, and eventually to publish illustrations of all the dies recognized, particularly those of the siege issue.⁶

CHRISTOPHER J. WOOD

TUDOR AND STUART COINS FROM THE WRECK OF THE *MARY*

ABOUT 2 a.m. on 25 March 1675 the yacht *Mary* was wrecked on the Skerries off the island of Anglesey while on a journey from Dublin to Chester. She sank with the loss of thirty-five lives, but thirty-nine other people managed to get to shore and were later picked up by a vessel from Beaumaris.¹

⁶ The author would like to thank all the private individuals listed in the paper who have generously made their coins available for study, and also to express his gratitude to Mr. Nicholas Mayhew and Miss Marion Archibald of the Ashmolean and British Museums respectively who provided access to the coins in their charge and contributed greatly to the progress of this project. Mr. Stewart and Mr. Woodhead kindly read

The *Mary* had been presented by the city of Amsterdam to Charles II on his restoration in 1660 as an expression of their regard for him. In the Amsterdam municipal archives are detailed accounts of the expenses involved in building the yacht and fully equipping her.² After a year serving as the

¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series)* (Car. II, 369, no. 109, 11). Report of the shipwreck of the yacht *Mary*, Chester, 31 March 1675.

² G. G. t'Hooft, 'The First English Yacht, 1660', *Mariners' Mirror*, v (October 1919), pp. 108-23.

official royal yacht, the *Mary* was replaced by an English-built yacht and transferred to the Navy for special duties where speed and comfort were considered requisite.

The royal yacht *Mary* has an important place in the history of the Royal Navy, being the first vessel of its class in use in this country. Sir John Evelyn wrote in his diary on 1 October 1661 'I sailed this morning in one of his yachts or pleasure boats, vessels not known among us till the Dutch East India Company presented that curious piece to the king, being excellent sailing vessels.'

The wreck site was discovered in July 1971 by divers from the Chorley and Merseyside branches of the British Sub-Aqua Club.³ All the items which these divers raised were deposited at the then City of Liverpool Museums for urgent conservation work to be carried out. The personal effects, including 239 English and Scottish coins, were purchased by the museum from the Department of Trade and Industry with a grant-in-aid from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. They now form part of the collections of the Merseyside county museums. A further thirty-three coins, including two Spanish colonial issues and two copper coins, were recovered from the same area of the site in 1976. The implications for the Anglo-Irish series of the so-called 'St. Patrick's' farthing were discussed in a separate note in *Irish Numismatics*.⁴

The coins recovered in 1971 and in 1976 are listed separately below. The weights, given in metric, were obtained on a Griffin digital balance, model 201.

Coins Recovered from the *Mary* in 1971

		HENRY VIII	
		<i>Groat</i>	
	1526-9	2-45	
		MARY	
		<i>Groats</i>	
	1553-4	1-28, 1-31, 0-94 (pierced)	
		PHILIP AND MARY	
		<i>Groat</i>	
	1554-8	1-02	
		ELIZABETH I	
		<i>Shillings</i>	
Lis	1558-60	4-63, 5-47	
Cross crosslet	1560-1	4-25, 4-44, 4-94	
Martlet	1560-1	4-31 (2), 4-45, 5-04, 5-37, 5-62, 5-68, 5-99	
?	1558-61	5-31	
Bell	1582-3	5-42	
A	1582-4	5-77	
Escallop	1584-6	3-69, 5-62, 5-67, 5-87	

Crescent	1587-9	4-89, 5-39	
Tun	1592-5	4-08, 4-51, 5-71, 5-73, 5-83	
Woolpack	1594-6	5-25, 5-74	
Key	1595-8	5-66	
1	1601	5-38	
2	1602	5-56, 5-59	
?	1583-1602	4-08, 4-28(2)	
<i>Sixpences</i>			
Coronet	1568	2-21, 2-52, 2-60, 2-78	
	1569	2-51, 2-62, 2-65, 2-66	
	1570	2-35	
	?	2-51	
Castle	1570	2-18, 2-59	
	1571	2-74	
Ermine	1572	2-18, 2-45, 2-57, 2-59 (2 upside down)	
	1573	2-59	
Acorn	1573	2-55	
	1574	2-63	
Eglantine	1575	2-40, 2-68, 2-92	
Greek cross	1578	2-30, 2-43, 2-82	
	1579	2-30	
Sword	1582	1-90, 2-55	
?	1561-82	1-56	
Bell	1582-3	2-25	
A	1583	2-45, 2-72	
Escallop	1585	2-23	
Crescent	1587	2-54	
	1589	2-72	
Hand	1590	2-84, 2-94	
Tun	1592	1-71, 2-55	
1	1601	2-14	
2	1602	2-54	
?	1583-1603	2-22	
<i>Threepence</i>			
Greek cross	1579	0-91	
Bell(?)	1582-3	0-61 flattened and pierced	
JAMES I			
<i>Shillings</i>			
Thistle	1603-4	5-44, 5-45, 5-85	
Lis	1604	5-10, 5-68	
Lis	1604-5	5-62	
Rose	1605-6	4-20, 4-81, 5-10, 5-21, 5-95	
Escallop	1606-7	4-76, 5-76	
Coronet	1607-9	5-37, 5-57	
Trefoil	1613	5-22	
?	1604-19	3-19	
Thistle	1621-3	5-65	
Lis	1623-4	5-54, 5-70	
Trefoil	1624	5-40	
<i>Sixpences</i>			
Thistle	1603	2-58	
Lis	1604	2-58	
?	1604	2-37	
Rose	1605-6	1-92	
Lis	1623	2-50	
CHARLES I			
<i>Tower Mint Half crowns</i>			
Star	1640-1	14-79	
?	?	11-26, 11-89	

³ *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, ii, 1973, 1; 59-73.

⁴ M. Dolley and M. Warhurst, 'New Evidence for

the Date of the so-called "St. Patrick's" Halfpence and Farthings', *Irish Numismatics*, no. 59, Sept.-Oct. 1977.

		<i>Shillings</i>
Lis	1625	5-82
Cross Calvary	1625-6	5-14
Negro's head	1626-7	4-43
Rose	1631-2	5-09
Harp	1632-3	4-12, 5-28, 5-62, 5-89
Portcullis	1633-4	5-63, 5-79
Bell	1634-5	4-46, 5-68(2), 5-84, 5-90, 5-94
Crown	1635-6	4-91, 5-67, 5-70, 5-72, 5-75, 5-77, 5-78, 5-79, 5-86, 5-87, 5-88
Tun	1636-8	4-82, 5-55, 5-66, 5-73, 5-85, 5-91
Anchor	1638-9	4-45, 5-55, 5-58, 5-60, 5-70, 5-81, 5-87, 5-92
Triangle	1639-40	4-41, 4-62, 4-81, 4-94, 5-63, 5-72, 5-79, 5-92
Star	1640-1	4-69, 5-07, 5-41, 5-60, 5-64, 5-71, 5-73, 5-93
	1641-3	4-44, 4-68, 5-30, 5-49, 5-58, 5-61, 5-62, 5-63, 5-67, 5-73, 5-74, 5-80, 5-81, 5-86, 6-07
P	1643-4	5-48, 6-02
R	1644-5	5-27, 5-60, 5-64, 5-72, 5-96, 6-90
Eye	1645	5-69, 5-83
Sun	1645-6	5-63, 5-65, 5-71, 5-92, 6-04
?	1634-8	4-54
?	post 1636	4-03, 4-22, 4-32, 4-40, 4-96, 5-04, 5-28, 5-35, 5-37, 5-46, 5-58, 5-62, 5-70, 5-78, 5-80(2), 5-90, 5-95, 5-98

		<i>Sixpences</i>
Bell	1634-5	2-85
Anchor	1638-9	2-66
Triangle	1639-40	2-50
R	1644-5	2-62
Eye	1645	2-43

		<i>Provincial Mints</i>
		<i>Aberystwyth</i>
		<i>Shilling</i>
Book	1638-42	5-44
		<i>Oxford</i>
		<i>Shillings</i>
Plume and bands	1642	5-88
	1643	5-60

		<i>Truro</i>
		<i>Crown</i>
Rose	1642-3	28-24

		<i>CHARLES II</i>
		<i>Hammered Series</i>
		<i>Shillings</i>
Crown	1660-2	5-62, 5-80

		<i>Sixpence</i>
		3-03
		<i>Milled Series</i>
		<i>Crown</i>
	1668	29-88
		<i>Half Crown</i>
	1663	14-38

SCOTLAND

		<i>JAMES VI/I</i>
		<i>Thistle Merks</i>
1602		5-44, 6-20

		<i>CHARLES II</i>
		<i>Milled Series</i>
		<i>Eight Merks</i>
1664		26-39

Coins recovered from the Mary in 1976

		<i>ELIZABETH I</i>
		<i>Shillings</i>
Escallop	1584-7	4-75
Woolpack	1594-6	5-71
?	1583-1603	4-55
		<i>Sixpences</i>
Coronet	1568	1-64
Eglantine	1574	2-62
Sword	1582	0-78 (fragment)
Bell	1582	1-22 (pierced)
?	159?	1-42

		<i>JAMES I</i>
		<i>Shillings</i>
?	1603-4	3-47, 4-63
Rose	1605-6	5-02

		<i>CHARLES I</i>
		<i>Half crowns</i>
Crown	1635-6	11-86
Ⓐ	1641-3	6-92
(R)	1644-5	11-23
?	?	9-21

		<i>Shillings</i>
Harp	1632-3	1-91 (fragment)
Tun	1636-8	3-44, 5-52
Anchor	1638-9	5-57
(R)	1644-5	4-40, 4-49
post 1636		1-63, 2-19, 2-98, 3-90, 4-75, 4-90

IRELAND

		<i>JAMES I</i>
		<i>Shilling</i>
Martlet	1603-4	3-47
'St. Patrick' farthing		2-81

BOLIVIA

		<i>Philip IV of Spain for Bolivia</i>
8 reales	1621-4	11-74

FLANDERS

		<i>Charles II of Spain for Flanders</i>
1 ducatoon	1670	17-03

ALSO 2 coins fused together, 1 of Charles II, the other illegible.
1 copper coin, unidentified, 1-35 (fragment).

MARGARET WARHURST

REVIEWS

SCBI 24: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins in West Country Museums. By A. J. H. GUNSTONE (British Academy, 1977). £10.50.

THIS is the second volume in the *SCBI* series where an excursion has been made into the collections of a group of smaller museums and other institutions in Britain. In this instance they are thirty in number, including the Pitt Rivers collection formerly housed at Farnham and now transferred to Salisbury Museum, and they cover the entire West Country. Altogether the collections make an impressive and very useful volume. Just over a thousand coins are listed. Over a quarter are Ancient British and Gaulish. The remainder are Saxon and Norman (up to and including Stephen), with three Hiberno-Norse and Scandinavian coins imitating English types, a small number of modern forgeries, and four early medieval continental coins with English findspots, two of them being from Cuerners. An eleventh-century French denier in Devizes Museum, the only medieval coin yet recorded from Great Bedwyn (*WAM* 53 (1949–50), p. 273), was omitted. A high proportion of the coins have recorded findspots. This reflects both the enthusiasm and the success of the county archaeological societies, which lie or lay behind most of the larger museums in this volume, in securing locally found coins for their collections, and also the length of time in which they have been active. Conversely, the statistic shows also that few of the museums—perhaps Taunton and Exeter only—appear to have made determined attempts to build up by purchase collections of locally struck medieval coins. The series of coins of the different Wessex mints do not, sadly, match those of the Bristol and Gloucester museums published separately as *SCBI 19*. Nor do they reflect the interest shown by the museums at Tamworth, Leicester, Shrewsbury, etc. in securing coins of their own mints, as shown in Antony Gunstone's previous volume, *SCBI Midlands Museums*. The volume usefully includes a number of coins from recent and as yet unpublished archaeological excavations, notably Cadbury hill-fort and Cheddar Palace. We must be grateful to their respective excavators for freely allowing the coins to be included here.

As with *SCBI Midlands Museums*, Antony Gunstone has prefaced this catalogue with a useful background account describing the history of the

formation of the various coin collections. Most importantly he has not spared us the 'warts'. Records of coins stolen or mislaid are given. In this respect it should be noted that *WAM* 44 (1927–9), pp. 236–9, the other never cited account of the Chute hoard, gives details of the dispersal of the hoard and shows, for example, that originally five of the coins went to Swindon Museum rather than three as inferred from this catalogue. A detailed list is given of coins sold recently by Taunton Museum and reveals that they included many important pieces—let alone a portion of the Wedmore hoard—that one would have liked to have seen photographed and recorded in this volume. This action reflects the inevitably restricted outlook of museums which are essentially concerned with what lies or lay within their own geographical borders. It is much to be regretted that, as is normal museum practice now, opportunity was not given for other museums to purchase them or acquire them by exchange. It is stated also that not all of the Ancient British and Medieval English coins in the Pitt Rivers collection passed to Salisbury Museum. To the note that the Saxon coins there were photographed by C. E. Blunt, it could be added that the Ancient British ones were photographed by Derek Allen for the card index of these coins maintained at the Institute of Archaeology at Oxford. The stater of Cunobelin, lot 42 in the Munzen und Medaillen sale of 4 December 1973, from the Pitt Rivers collection (*Britannia*, vi (1975), p. 13), reflects the quality of the missing part of the collection.

Of the Ancient British coins there are few which do not have recorded findspots. Thus the greater number are those struck by the Durotriges (*British B* and Mack 317–69), and by the Dobunni. In some cases their publication here corrects or qualifies entries in Derek Allen's catalogue of Ancient British coins in *The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Re-appraisal*, for example, nos. 189 and 190, two further examples of the rare and attractive Class A Dobunnian silver coins. Nos. 33b–44, the group of quarter-staters of type Mack 319, to be read in conjunction with Derek Allen's diagrammatic break-down of the type in *Origins*, p. 112, is of interest as relatively few coins of this interesting type tend to be illustrated in numismatic literature.

It would have been better in the reviewer's mind not to have listed the long series of Durotrigian-

struck staters, types Mack 317 and 318, merely in the alphabetical order of museums with coins of the type, but in alphabetical order of findspot (under county and parish or site), and then subdivided according to the classification proposed by Derek Allen in *Hod Hill*, and utilized by Michael Mackeson in his more recent study of Durotrigian coinage. In just the same way, Dobunnic coins are invariably listed according to the scheme advanced in *Bagedon: A Belgic Oppidum*. This would have brought together in this catalogue coins with the same find-spot but now in different museum collections, and would enable the composition of groups of coins from the same site, and particularly the important hoard from Cotley Farm (= Chardstock, Axminster), to be seen and understood more clearly. It would also have made it more easy to use the volume in conjunction with Derek Allen's list in *The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Re-Appraisal*. In many cases it is usefully stated when an Ancient British coin in the catalogue is included in this list or, with the Durotrigian staters, in the lists published by Michael Mackeson. But it would have been better if this had been systematic, and an entry such as '*Origins*, —' added to coins which do not appear there, as indeed is the case with many of the provenanced coins.

The cast bronze Durotrigian staters usefully complement those published in *SCBI The Mack Collection* and *SCBI Fitzwilliam I*. The series of Dobunnic coins is smaller but of importance in including the three Class A silver coins and a parcel of coins from the Nunney hoard, which although small is important in that it is non-selective. Where is the stater of Catti from the Nunney hoard which Evans thought was in Taunton Museum (*Num. Chron.* (1861), p. 4)? One wonders whether this second stater of Catti from the hoard does indeed exist. The remaining Ancient British coins, apart from those without recorded findspots or with findspots outside the south-west, consist of coins struck outside this area but which circulated within and were lost there either in late Iron Age or early Roman times. They include a few Potin coins and a number of not satisfactorily provenanced coins of the Icenii. While coins of the Catuvellauni are accepted as only occurring very infrequently in the south-west, it is an important result of this volume that no further examples have been brought to light in the museum collections. The only Catuvellaunian coins included are a *British La* stater from Maiden Castle and a bronze of Cunobelin from Roman Cirencester. In addition there are no coins of the Atrebatas. In compensation, we find in the volume a high proportion of coins from north-west Gaul.

The number of continental coins would have been still higher had the Paul, Penzance, hoard in Truro Museum been included. The inference is clearly that in the later Iron Age the economic and social links of the south-west lay much more with the Continent than with the developed Belgic kingdoms in Britain, and that travel by sea was of greater importance than hypothetical overland traffic along ridgeway routes.

The Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins include, as stated above, an expected but not impressive series of coins from local mints in Wessex. There are a number of coins from hoards—Tywardreath (1953), Shaftesbury (c. 1940), 'Bath' and Latton (c. 1882), with impressive and interesting parcels from the City hoard (1872) and from Cuedale. The publication of the coins from the Wedmore hoard (1853), together with the additional information given of the composition of the find, almost alone justifies the appearance of the volume. There are also a number of individual coins with recorded findspots in the south-west. No. 536, the London mint penny of Æthelred II found at Stonehenge, is noteworthy in that another Saxon coin, not included in this volume, was found at Silbury Hill. In view of the infrequency of the discovery of Saxon coins, this may be more than coincidence: do these coins perhaps provide evidence for the use of, or the visiting of, these prehistoric monuments in later Saxon times?

As with *SCBI Midlands Museums*, the publication of this volume has brought to general notice unknown or little-known coins, which one might perhaps not have expected to find in museums in that area. Again this shows the general usefulness of both the volume and the series. The most obvious coin of this type is no. 871, a previously unpublished penny of Henry of Anjou. Nos. 381 and 669 should also be noted, while the irregular style of no. 432, a penny of Edward the Martyr signed by the moneyer Wigferth, at London, is compared with a BMC iv penny of Eadgar, also by this moneyer and again of anomalous style. The implications of this are potentially of considerable interest.

It is unfortunate, although perhaps inevitable with long-established provincial museums which have rarely been adequately and professionally staffed throughout their histories, that in many cases record of the provenances of the coins have been lost. The five 'sceattas' in Dorchester Museum are a tantalizing case in point, while the small group of coins in Taunton Museum of Æthelred I and early Alfred seem to belong together but are also sadly without provenance. In a few cases the reviewer has been able to determine or expand the

provenances of a few of the Wiltshire coins in the volume from local records:

- 423 H(oratio) N(elson) Goddard lived at Clyffe Pypard. The coin was exhibited at Swindon in 1873 (*WAM* 14, p. 155) and is probably a local find from the Swindon-Clyffe Pypard area.
- 668 was presented in 1916 by the Leicester businessman, Hugh Goodacre, regarding whom see *SCBI Midlands Museums*, p. xvi, and part of whose own collection of coins is in Leicester Museum.
- 688 was acquired in 1926 in conjunction with the now missing William I Paxs type penny of Malmesbury mentioned on p. xx, presumably from a London dealer.
- 744 The donor was the Revd. Charles Soames, Rector of Mildenhall, Wilts. (see *BNJ* xlv (1975), p. 2 and n. 4). The coin may be that found at Axford in 1891 (*WAM* 26, p. 416).
- 787 was presented by John Yonge Akerman to Devizes Museum in 1856.

It is very much to be hoped that the publication of this volume will stimulate research into the records of other museums or county societies to bring to light further information on other unprovenanced coins in this book.

All in all the volume is an important publication of practical benefit to the numismatist, local historian, archaeologist, and museologist alike. Bearing in mind the scattered nature of the museum collections, it has been well compiled and is published at what is a reasonable price nowadays for a reference book. While some of the photographs are poor and an unfortunate number of coins are published without a photograph, they are in a minority and do not mar the pleasure of seeing the volume in print.

P. H. R.

Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday. Ed. MARTIN BIDDLE. Winchester Studies I. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1976. Pp. xxi+612. £32.

IF future volumes of *Winchester Studies* maintain the standards of production and scholarship set by *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, then students of the medieval city will have at their disposal a remarkable array of evidence accompanied by balanced authoritative commentary of the highest quality. Among the most refreshing features of this series is the accumulation of historical evidence of every type be it archaeological, documentary, or numismatic. The way in which these different elements illuminate one another must inspire all

specialists to keep abreast of work in related fields, while the skill with which this information is blended into a readable whole is a model for us all.

This first volume is principally a new edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday. For the uninitiated this name may be misleading, for the great survey of England known as Domesday Book does not include Winchester. The Winton Domesday is in fact two twelfth-century surveys. Survey I is dated to c. 1110; it covers the *terra regis* within the borough, though baronial lands are mentioned when they are still burdened with royal customs. Though belonging to the early twelfth century, Survey I also contains within it the substance of an earlier survey of the holders of lands in the time of Edward the Confessor (TRE). In this respect Survey I conforms to the Domesday Book formula which asked questions about lands as they were at the time of writing (*modo*) and as they had been TRE. Numismatists may derive some satisfaction from the fact that the dating of the two elements of Survey I to c. 1057 and c. 1110 is fixed by the names of the moneyers mentioned in the surveys. Survey II was prepared in 1148 and was carried out by the bishop, Henry of Blois, perhaps as a result of the damage sustained by the city in the civil war. Thus we have a detailed record of the City of Winchester as it was c. 1057, c. 1110, and in 1148.

This new edition of the two surveys was prepared by Professor Frank Barlow, and there are further sections on the binding and palaeography by experts in these fields. Many numismatists may be more familiar with the work of Olof von Feilitzen, who provides a fascinating section on personal and bynames. Apart from the *monetarii* identified as such (Alestanus, Alwardus filius Etardii, Alwinus, Aitardessone, Andrebodus, Odo, Wimundus, Sanson, Siwardus, and Godwinus), the name of William Caddus, the famous money lender stands out.

The central commentary, Winchester in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is by Martin Biddle and D. J. Keene, and it is to their section on the Mint (pp. 396-421) that many numismatists will turn first. An impressive band of numismatic scholars have advised Biddle and Keene on this piece, which is not a discussion of site finds from Winchester, nor an analysis of the product of the Winchester mint. Those seeking Winchester find data have only to turn to this journal (*BNJ* xlvii (1977), pp. 135-8), while those looking for a study of the Winchester coins must await Mrs. Yvonne Harvey's work on this topic which is to be Winchester Studies 8. However, in the present Winchester Studies I, after a brief outline of the Winchester coinage, we are treated to an analysis

of the moneyers listed in the surveys, compared with those known from the coins. This analysis not only provides a chronological framework for the Surveys, but also gives us a detailed picture of the moneyers, and of the mint. Indeed it is clear that in eleventh- and twelfth-century Winchester it may be misleading to speak of a single mint. Moneyers each held a number of properties, and it seems likely that they may have conducted the exchange functions of their work at home, that is to say in residential property, while the metal work took place in workshops (*monete*) which may have contained up to six forges each. This arrangement of scattered workshops held or rented by individual moneyers was brought to an end by the Short Cross reorganization of 1180 which set up a single building for the whole operation. Before this date the moneyers of Winchester were expressly forbidden to work together in a single building.

Nevertheless, even when moneyers' properties were scattered in the city, the surveys do indicate a concentration of moneyers' interests in certain areas, especially the High Street. Moreover, the character of these areas, once established, was retained to a remarkable degree. Thus the five moneyers' workshops situated in the High Street which were destroyed c. 1066 to make more room for the royal palace were not forgotten. When the palace was destroyed in 1141 moneyers reoccupied the site, and when the mint for the Short Cross coinage was set up, exactly the same area was chosen.

This physical continuity of place was mirrored by a continuity of personnel; there are many indications that wherever possible moneying was kept in the family (e.g. the families of Chepingus, Odo, and Sait). This is not surprising since the moneyers formed a group which in social and economic terms was second only to the royal officials. They had extensive interests in urban properties, and involvement in trade. Moneyers in Calpestret seem to have been linked with the goldsmiths. Walter Chibus who held moneyers' forges was known as a usurer. Moneyers were wealthy men, and their families exercised influence and wealth in the city through into the thirteenth century.

Apart from this picture of the moneyers and their mints there are also contributions to numismatic problems as yet unresolved. Does the presence in Winchester of Odo monetarius, who is very probably Odo the hereditary die-cutter, revive the possibility of an official connection between Winchester and die-cutting which was raised by the discovery of a lead trial piece of Edward the Confessor (*BNJ* xxvii (1952-4), pp. 175-8)? The mention of Sanson

as a moneyer in the 1148 Survey is interesting since he is not known as a Winchester moneyer. Could this be the man who struck coins for Stephen, with an uncertain mint-signature disputed between Southampton and Canterbury?

There is plenty for the numismatist in this volume. Anyone who can afford £32 should not hesitate on the ground that only a small part of the book is concerned with the mint. As this study shows moneyers were by no means exclusively concerned with the coinage; neither should numismatists be! Those who cannot afford £32 may take comfort from the fact that this volume can be found on the shelves of the BNS library.

N. J. M.

The Pobjoy Encyclopaedia of Isle of Man Coins and Tokens. By JAMES A. MACKAY. Sutton (Surrey), 1977: 78 pp. including 8 colour plates and numerous half-tones and line-engravings in text. £3.50.

THE purely historical portions of this slim but handsome volume can only be described as unsatisfactory. It just is not good enough for an author to give an air of scholarship to two-thirds of his book by acknowledging generously assistance from named scholars of repute, in this case Mr. A. M. Cubbon, O.B.E., and Dr. L. S. Garrad, who appear to have been given no opportunity of correcting the misuse made of such information as they may in fact have supplied. A few examples of these errors may not be amiss. Any historical personage underlying Mananan (p. 2, l. 6) cannot be supposed to have lived anything like as late as the fifth century of the Christian era, and there is no evidence that the historic Patrick of the *Confessio* ever came to the island (*ibid.*, l. 8). Few scholars, too, would care to insist on the historicity of all the Scottish, Welsh, and English 'conquests' in the early Christian period (*ibid.*, ll. 11-15), while Harold Fairhair's personal intervention (*ibid.*, l. 16) is now recognized as a projection backwards of Norwegian ambitions of the early twelfth century. 'Jarl Orry' (*ibid.*, l. 19) is nowhere identified, and a later reference to 'Orrys or Kings' (*ibid.*, ll. 30 and 31) does suggest that our author is under the impression that this personal name (= Godred or Guthred) is a title. For most historians, too, Man 'emerges from the mists of legend' not in 1079 (*ibid.*, l. 26) but in the 960s and 970s with the succession of Magnus ('Macus') Haraldsson and of his brother Godred ('King Orry?'). The father of Godred Crovan was indeed Harold the Black (*ibid.*, l. 27), but whether he hailed from Iceland is a matter of debate, with Islay seeming a more plausible alternative. Enough has been

said, however, to suggest that pp. 1–4 of this work should be used with the greatest caution.

The second chapter (pp. 5–10) is only less contentious. It was a good idea to bring together notes on the various types of the different Anglo-Manx coinages down the centuries, but really far too much space is given over (pp. 5 and 6) to the alleged Sicilian inspiration of the so-called *triskeles*—Sir Anthony Wagner's seminal paper and Mr. G. V. C. Young's more recent researches alike are ignored—and it is surprising to find the Kirk Maughold cross given with such confidence to 'the late thirteenth century'. Historians, too, will be unhappy with the dating and even the identification (p. 7) of Peel's patron saint, while 'armoured gunwhales and twin banks of oarsmen' (ibid.) must seem an odd description of the disposition of the shields and rowers on 'a typical Norse ship'. The proliferation of the horns on a *loaghtyn* ram (p. 9) seems in fact to be the result of nineteenth-century cross-breeding to improve the stock, and it is the colour and the texture of the fleece that caught the eye of the earliest modern observers of the breed and could be considered the link with the Viking Age.

Chapter III (pp. 11–26) lists and illustrates the principal varieties of the Anglo-Manx coinage struck and issued over the last three centuries. The Hiberno-Manx series is no more than touched upon—even though certainly struck on the island—and bibliographical omissions for the more modern series include several notes in *The Manxman* which would have enabled one or two significant omissions to be made good. We are not told, for instance, when fourteen pence began to be reckoned to the shilling, nor the reason. There is also the question of certain Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Scottish pieces from the regal series which were authorized by Tynwald to circulate on the island but at reduced values. Errors of fact include the statement (p. 11) that 'Roman coins were used [*sic*] in the Isle of Man'—recent research has demonstrated the contrary—while 'doubts expressed regarding the attribution' of three pennies to 'Godred Mac-Harold' [*sic*] is a quite magnificent litotes when a 1976 paper in *N. Circ.* has shown that the coins in question were struck in Dublin and several years after Godred's death. No gold coin was struck in 1324 for the Duke of Albany (ibid., l. 29), let alone one with the Manx emblem, and equally apocryphal is the copper coinage of 1329 (ibid., l. 31). Doubt may also be cast upon the leather coinage (Welsh?) of the seventeenth century (p. 12, l. 22). Equally it is not clear why the *ducatoon* should have been singled out as one of the seventeenth-century issues authorized to circulate on the island. There is no reason to think

that the 'butchers' brass' (p. 13, l. 3, etc.) included the Limerick tokens of 1679, and one would like to know the existence of any evidence to support the claim that the 'St Patrick's' halfpence and farthings go back to the 1660s (ibid., l. 15). The Murrey's pence of 1668 are much more likely to have been struck on the island from London-engraved dies than 'produced in Birmingham' (p. 14, l. 20). No. 15 on p. 15 is presumably the tooled piece at Oxford, and no 'considerable stretch of the imagination' in fact is needed to associate the mint of the 1709 coins with Castle Rushen (p. 16, l. 19). On pp. 18–20 (*passim*) there are rehearsed most of the traditional obfuscations that surround the coinage of 1733—from the extant and as yet only selectively calendared mint-accounts preserved in the library of the Manx Museum (and no longer in the Seneschal's office at Castletown) it should be clear that the fundamental dichotomy within the series is between imported and local blanks. The Atholl coins of 1758 in fact were struck at Birmingham, and Mr. Frank Cowin of Castletown is publishing a number of references to them which occur in the Atholl papers in the Manx Museum. Information concerning the coppers dated 1786, 1798, 1813, and 1839, on the other hand, is generally accurate even if our author neglects to observe that on all these pieces the word-order of the Manx motto has become STABIT QVOCVNQVE IECERIS. However, it is gratifying to find pieces such as 79a (p. 24) and 90–7 (p. 26) so clearly distinguished and properly described as 'perpetrated', a justified pejorative which deserves wider employment where numismatists are concerned.

Chapter IV (pp. 27–38) listing tokens and certain other paranumismatica is more satisfactory, even if the relative rarity of varieties such as nos. 132 and 132a is not indicated, nor the circumstance that 132b appears to be unique (pp. 32–3). One would welcome, too, more positive evidence that no. 135 (p. 34) has anything to do with the internment camp at Knockaloe. Unfortunate is the use of the term 'jeton' on the same page to describe a gaming-counter, and the same infelicity recurs in the glossary which occupies pp. 68 and 69. All these are errors that could so easily have been avoided if only the author had submitted his text to a competent numismatist—and accepted the corrections. With Chapter V (pp. 39–49), on the other hand, we are on firmer ground. The Manx officials consulted are those who actually negotiated the contracts with the Royal Mint at London and Llantrisant (coins dated 1965, 1970, and 1971), the Royal Canadian Mint at Ottawa (coins dated 1972), and most recently the Pobjoy mint at Sutton (coins dated 1972–6). Confidentiality obviously precludes

the revelation of the terms on which these different contracts were negotiated, and so an opportunity has been lost finally of nailing once and for all the rumour that one was on terms diverging appreciably from Western European norms, but it is hard to see why an author with access to the official figures should have been prevented from giving the exact figures in all cases for non-proof strikings in the precious metals (e.g. nos. 211, 217, 223, 226, etc.). Some may find curious, too, the categorical statement that the dies for the 1974 gold were defaced by the Government Treasurer in person (p. 52), even if it should be understandable that reassurance is eagerly sought by collectors of what is undoubtedly a highly speculative issue. Particularly valuable in this connection is the detailed explanation in Appendix I (pp. 51–2) of the die-letters ('die-marks') on the gold in question whatever reservations one may have concerning the description of the epigraphy as Hiberno-Norse. It is for these details that the book must find a place on the shelves of every student and collector of the modern Anglo-Manx series.

Pp. 53–60 are given over to sixteen half-page colour illustrations explaining many of the processes of the Pobjoy Mint. Taken in conjunction with the text on pp. 64–6 they provide a picture of modern techniques of coin-production that is at once comprehensive and lucid, and in themselves they earn for the book a wider readership than just the Manx collecting fraternity could hope to sustain.

No less valuable is the first section of Appendix II (pp. 61–4) which sketches the history of the Pobjoy Mint, and tells how family traditions of engineering and manufacturing jewellery combined and diversified in the years following the Second World War, and in the 1960s broke through successively into the highly competitive fields of commemorative medals and of coinage proper. We are left hungry for more, and it is indeed to be hoped that it may be possible one day for Mr. Mackay to expand these pages into a full-scale history of the Pobjoy Mint, and, with access to the company records, draw up a complete catalogue of all its products.

All in all, then, this is a 'curate's egg' of a book. The production is excellent—apart from the binding in at the back of three pages of newspaper-type advertising—and much can be learned from it. The reviewer for one has read it with profit and pleasure if with occasional dismay, and the quality of what one may perhaps term the 'yolk' is such that one is doubly sorry that so much of the 'white' is frankly addled. Awaited is a new edition which will pick up the positive mistakes, but retain the well-conceived format and the freshness of approach. As it is, an admittedly academic reviewer is left muttering to himself—and not for the first time in his career—'Do popular books *have* to be inaccurate?', and wondering whether perhaps the new work is not further evidence of an insular disease.

M. D.

PUBLICATIONS NOTICED, AND ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY 1977

General

Numismatics. PHILIP GRIERSON. In *Medieval studies: an introduction*, edited by James M. Powell, Syracuse 1976, pp. 103-50.

*[*Bibliotheca numaria*]. *A bibliography of numismatic books printed before 1800*, by J. G. LIPSIIUS; *with the supplement to 1866*, by J. LEITZMANN. [1st and 2nd eds.] reprinted. Colchester: John Drury, 1977. [6], xx, 558, [1], iv, 190 pp. £21. Spine title 'Bibliotheca numaria'. I. G. Lipsii 'Bibliotheca numaria, sive catalogus auctorum qui usque ad finem seculi XVIII de re monetaria aut numis scripserunt . . .' originally published Lipsiae [Leipzig]: impens. bibliopol. Schaeferiani, 1801, 2 vols.; J. Leitzmann, 'Bibliotheca numaria: Verzeichniss sämmtlicher in dem Zeitraume 1800 bis 1866 erschienenen Schriften über Münzkunde', 2te stark vermehrte Auflage . . ., originally published Weissensee: Verlag der G. F. Grossmann'schen Buchhandlung, 1867.

Biblioteket fra Den kongelige Mønt i Altona, af JØRGEN STEEN JENSEN. In *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 1976, pp. 24-32: illus. The eighteenth-nineteenth-century library from the Altona Mint has been transferred to the Danish Royal Collection of Coins and Medals.

**De Beeldenaar*: munt- en penningkundig nieuws, 1e jaargang (nr. 1), januari 1977 + Zeist (Postbus 420): Drukkerij Vonk, monthly. f. 40,- p.a. 26 pp.: illus., in 1st issue. Supersedes 'De Geuzenpenning' and 'De Florijn'. A publication of the Koninklijk Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde and the Vereniging voor Penningkunst.

**Biuletyn Numizmatyczny*. Warsaw (00-950 Warszawa 1, skr. poczt. 300): Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne i Numizmatyczne, Komisja Numizmatyczna, 1965+ (10 issues p.a.). 'Numismatic Bulletin is a popular magazine of the Numismatic Commission of the Polish Archaeological and Numismatic Society'. Summary in English on back cover of each issue. Issues held: no. 77, 1972; 81 and 85 [faulty], 1973; 89, 1974+.

**New Zealand Numismatic Journal*, vol. 14 (no. 55), June 1976. Wellington: Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand. Partial contents: W. E.

Horwood, 'Charles II, 1660-85', pp. 1-2; Joan Armstrong, 'The guinea', p. 7; Matthew Strack, 'Gun money (Irish variety)', pp. 7-8; 'Trial of the Pyx, Friday, May 21st 1976: address of the Queen's Remembrancer . . .', pp. 24-7.

*A short history of the numismatic societies in England; being the President's Address . . . [ROBERT SEAMAN]. In *Caesaromagus* (Essex Numismatic Society), no. 37, summer 1977, pp. 2-6.

**Annual report of the AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY* for the period ending September 30, 1976. New York. 134 pp. Accessions include a stater of British J type (pp. 10-11, fig. 1), and gold and silver coins of Charles I (pp. 24-5, fig. 33), all from the Norweb collection.

Numismatic exhibitions: new galleries in Lincoln and London. ELIZABETH PIRIE. In *Museums Journal*, vol. 77 (no. 1), June 1977, pp. 29-31: illus.

*The Maritime Museum at Wexford, by ARTHUR E. J. WENT. In *Irish Numismatics*, vol. 10 (no. 56), Mar./Apr. 1977, p. 56: illus.

*The County Wexford Museum, Enniscorthy, by ARTHUR E. J. WENT. *Ibid.*, vol. 10 (no. 57), May/June 1977, pp. 96-7.

*The Armagh County Museum, by D. BATESON and M. DOLLEY. *Ibid.*, vol. 10 (no. 58), July/Aug. 1977, pp. 120-3: illus.

Technical notes on the cleaning and reproduction of silver coins. C. G. SLACK. In *Irish Archaeological Research Forum*, 1 (1), 1974, pp. 52-8.

Vågor och viktlod: diskussion kring frågor om precision och noggrannhet. OLA KYHLBERG. In *Fornvännen*, vol. 70, 1975, pp. 156-65: illus.; summary in English. 'Scales and weights: discussion of questions of precision'.

Billon-billoen-billio: from bullion to base coinage: an essay on numismatic philology. JOHN H. MUNRO. In *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, vol. 52, 1974, pp. 293-305.

The other side of the coin. STUART FLEMING. In *The Times*, no. 60117, 24 September 1977, p. 11

(Collecting). The perfection of counterfeiting from the Ancient World to 1976.

*Counterfeit coin conspiracy broken. In *Bulletin on Counterfeits*, vol. 2 (no. 1), March 1977, pp. 1-4. The Stock case, Manchester Crown Court, November 1976. See also 'Detailed reports', pp. 19-24 (£5, 1839, 1887, and 1893; 2 guineas, 1739; £2, 1887; sovereign, 1958).

*Démembrement d'une conspiration de faux-monnayeurs. Ibid., vol. 2 (no. 2), June 1977, pp. 30-1. French text of the above. See also 'Detailed reports' pp. 50-2 (£5, 1887 and 1911; guinea, 1798).

*The story of Harry Stock, alias Robert Williams; or, How the Swiss caught and gaoled a numismatic villain. J. P. Drvo. Ibid., pp. 31-4. French text, pp. 34-6.

*Pojęcie monety fałszywej w późnym średniowieczu. JERZY PIŃIŃSKI. In *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, xx (78), 1976, pp. 239-42; summary in English, p. 242. 'The concept of monetary forgery in the Late Medieval Ages'.

Celtic

*Celtyckie formy do odlewania krążków menniczych z I w. p.n.e. odkryte w Polsce. RENÉE HACHULSKA-LEDWOS. Ibid. xx (77), 1976, pp. 180-2; illus.; summary in English, p. 183. 'Celtic moulds for planchets from the 1st century B.C. found in Poland [Kraków-Nowa Huta, Mogiła]'.

*Zur Deutung der Einhiebe auf den Münzen der Parisii: ein Beitrag zur keltischen Religionsgeschichte. HERBERT BANNERT. In *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 26, 1976, pp. 9-24.

*Ein 'Schatzfundkomplex' norischen Kleinsilbers aus Celje. PETER KOS. Ibid., pp. 25-9, pls. 1-2.

*Did Adminius strike coins?, by the late D. F. ALLEN. In *Britannia*, vii, 1976, pp. 96-100, pl. xiB. Mack 313-15 may be attributed to Suetonius's Adminius.

*An Icenian legend; . . . found among the late Mr. D. F. ALLEN's papers. Ibid., pp. 276-8, pl. xxvB. Mack 434A, *Subippasto* or *Prasto subi/Esico fecit*, originally read as *Subidasto*, etc.

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Continental Europe

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*Denary contra dirhemy: początki napływu wczesnośredniowiecznej monety zachodniej do Europy wschodniej. STANISŁAW SUCHODOLSKI. In *Biuletyn Numizmatyczny*, no. 107, listopad 1975, pp. 161-6; illus. 'Deniers versus dirhems: the beginnings of the influx of early mediaeval coins from the west into eastern Europe', presented to a symposium in Auxerre in 1975.

*W odpowiedzi na recenzję 'Katalogu podstawowych typów monet i banknotów Polski i ziem historycznie z Polską związanych, Tom I, część 1' (BN nr 4/1975). EDMUND KOPICKI. Ibid., pp. 169-75; tables. A supplement to Kopicki's 'Katalog . . .' part 1.

*À propos de l'intensité de l'échange local sur les territoires polonais aux X^e-XI^e siècles. STANISŁAW SUCHODOLSKI; traduit [du polonais] par Geneviève Leider. In *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, xxi (79), 1977, pp. 1-11. Originally published in Polish, 1971. Argues that coin fragments were units of small change, and demonstrate the monetization

of the local market in Poland by the second half of the tenth century.

*Materiały do inwentaryzacji znalezisk monet polskich, śląskich, pomorskich i krzyżackich XIII-XVIII w. w Skandynawii. ANDRZEJ MIKOŁAJCZYK. Ibid., pp. 12-23: map; summary in English, p. 22. 'Inventory materials on finds of 13th-17th-century Polish, Silesian, Pomeranian and Teutonic Knights coins in Scandinavia'.

*'Ego sum Deus': a mistaken legend of Artois. J. D. BRADY. In *Museum Notes* (The American Numismatic Society), 21, 1976, pp. 153-9, pl. xiii. A type of denier reading EGO SVM DE / ROBERTI, now attributed to Arras under Robert I of Flanders (1071-92).

*Mønter og møntstempel. GEORG GALSTER and JØRGEN STEEN JENSEN. In *Archaeologica Lundensia* . . . , VII: *Uppgrävt förfutet för PKbanken i Lund: en investering i arkeologi*, Anders W. Mårtensson sammanställde och redigerade, 1976, pp. 179-86: illus., pls. I, IV. Pl. IV omitted from offprint. Eight eleventh-twelfth-century coins were found in the Lund excavations of 1974-5, including a Stamford penny of Cnut, Pointed Helmet type; also a German jewel-bracteate; and a complete upper die of Eric Plough-penny (1241-50).

*En Maria amulet på en dolk. JØRGEN STEEN JENSEN. Ibid., pp. 396-8: illus. On a dagger excavated in Lund was an AVE MARIA amulet imitating a sterling penny; others of the same type are discussed.

Den Atlantiske omkrets: noen upåaktede sammenreff fra de to sidste tiår av det 12. århundre. MICHAEL DOLLEY; translated by Jan H. Nordbø. In *NNF-Nytt. Meddelelser fra Norsk Numismatisk Forening*, no. 1, 1977, pp. 19-25: illus. 'The Atlantic circumference: some unnoticed coincidences [in the coinages of Scandinavia and the British Isles] from 1180-1200'.

*La chronologie des esterlins de Jean d'Avesnes, comte de Hainaut (1280-1304). NICHOLAS J. MAYHEW. In *Revue Numismatique*, 6th series, vol. 17, 1975, pp. 172-81: illus.

*Muntvondst Baarle-Nassau. R. L. SCHULMAN. In *De Beeldenaar*, 1 (nr. 3), March 1977, pp. 6-7: illus. This 1976 find of 42 gold coins, 1371-1423, included a heavy noble of Henry IV.

De schat van laat-middeleeuwse goudmunten gevonden te Leuven in 1851. PAUL NASTER. In *Arca Lovaniensis*, vol. 4, 1975, pp. 220-42: illus. The

Louvain gold hoard of 1851, amassed between 1454 and 1466, included 16 English pieces.

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Katalog podstawowych typów monet i banknotów Polski oraz ziem historycznie z Polską związanych. EDMUND KOPICKI. Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne i Numizmatyczne, Komisja Numizmatyczna. *Tom II: 1506-1632; redaktor Kamiński, Czesław. 1976. 310 pp.: illus., maps. Vol. II cover title 'Monety ostatnich Jagiellonów, Stefana Batorego i Zygmunta III, 1506-1632'. 'Wykaz dostrzeżonych braków i błędów', 4 pp., as insert.

**Histoire numismatique du protestantisme* (collection Stucker); monnaies de Lorraine (collection R.S., et X) . . . dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu Palais d'Orsay . . . 21 . . . 23 novembre . . . par le ministère de M^e Bernard Oger . . . ; expert, M. ÉMILE BOURGEY . . . [1977]. [119] pp.: illus., xli pls. Includes medals and tokens; 'Angleterre', lots 26-125.

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- A significant findspot for a penny of Harold I. MICHAEL DOLLEY. In *Durobrivae: a review of Nene Valley archaeology*, vol. 4, 1976, pp. 120-1.
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- England (1066-1707)*
- **Winchester in the early Middle Ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*. FRANK BARLOW . . . [et al.]; edited by MARTIN BIDDLE. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976 [i.e. 1977]. xxxiii, 612 pp., front., xi pls., [14] leaves: maps, tables, diags. (Winchester studies, 1). £32. Partial contents: Martin Biddle and D. J. Keene, 'Winchester in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', including 'The mint', pp. 396-422, 556; there are frequent references elsewhere to moneyers.
- **Catalogue of English and foreign coins in gold, silver, and copper, also historical medals; day of sale . . . 26th May 1977 . . .* GLENDINING & Co. [2], 24 pp. Lots 71-96, Stephen pennies of Type 1 from the Prestwich treasure trove.
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- *Monety twierdz oblężonych: numizmatyczne ślady wojny domowej w Anglii, 1642-1649. ANDRZEJ MIKOŁAJCZYK. Ibid., no. 81, marzec 1973, pp. 41-3: illus. 'Obsidional money: numismatic traces of the Civil War of England of 1642-1649'.
- *Archbishop Sharp collection: catalogue of English coins and medals, and colonial coins, from Charles I to Queen Anne . . . ; day of sale . . . 5th October 1977; auctioneers GLENDINING & CO.; catalogued by A. H. BALDWIN & SONS LTD. 37 pp., xxvi pls.
- Great Britain (1707+), British Commonwealth and Empire*
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- Maundy money in general circulation. I. D. BROWN. In *Canadian Numismatic Journal*, vol. 21 (no. 6), June 1976, p. 252.
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- *A little-known contribution to Hiberno-Norse numismatics of Otto Alcenius (1838-1913), by MICHAEL DOLLEY and TUUKKA TALVIO. In *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, section C, vol. 77 (no. 5), 1977, pp. 213-21. £0.56.
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- *New evidence for the date of the so-called 'St. Patrick's' halfpence and farthings, by MICHAEL DOLLEY and MARGARET WARHURST. Ibid., vol. 10 (no. 59), Sept./Oct. 1977, pp. 161-3: illus. A St. Patrick farthing is among the finds from the yacht *Mary*, wrecked 25 March 1675.
- *The chemical analysis of coins, by N. J. FITZPATRICK. Ibid., vol. 10 (no. 57), May/June 1977, pp. 98-9. On the composition of pewter, and some analyses of gun-money.
- The coin-hoard from Ballycastle and a re-provenanced tortoise brooch from the mouth of the river Bann. R. B. WARNER. In *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 38, 1975, pp. 89-90.
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- Jettons, Tokens, etc.*
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- *Jetons, collection R. Castaing, 2^{me} partie . . . , dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu Drouot . . . Paris . . . 28 février . . . 1^{er} mars . . . 2 mars 1977 . . . par le ministère de . . . M. ÉMILE BOURGEY . . . [54] pp.: illus.
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- *British countermarks on copper and bronze coins. J. GAVIN SCOTT. In *Newsletter: the journal of the London Numismatic Club*, vol. vi (no. 11), May 1977, pp. 209-16.

*[Four studies of British metallic tickets and commercial checks of the 19th-20th centuries]. Amendment list no. 1 . . . R. N. P. HAWKINS. In *Token Corresponding Society Bulletin*, vol. 2 (no. 12), Dec. 1976, pp. 229-32. £0.10.

*French's tavern tokens numbered 32 and 35, by ARTHUR E. J. WENT. In *Irish Numismatics*, vol. 10 (no. 58), July/Aug. 1977, p. 141: illus. Identifies the issuer as George Flood, 28 Grafton Street, Dublin (fl. 1853-62).

From a fortune to a farthing: the Prince of Wales public house, Walsall Road. GEOFF. STEVENS. In *Blackcountryman*, 10, summer 1977, pp. 38-9.

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Medals, Badges, Seals

*Een Ierse Oranjepenning. A. J. B[EMOLT] V[AN]

L[OGHUM] S[LATERUS]. In *De Beeldenaar*, 1 (nr. 1), Jan. 1977, pp. 15, 17: illus. A silver medal of Orange Lodge no. 415, inscribed 'FWC'.

*A medal for the Queen's Institute, by ARTHUR E. J. WENT. In *Irish Numismatics*, vol. 10 (no. 59), Sept./Oct. 1977, pp. 170-1: illus. This Dublin Institute was founded in 1861.

En sigillmatris från Olov Skötkonungs tid. HARALD WIDEEN. In *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, no. 2, February 1977, pp. 21-5: illus. An ivory seal of Godwin and Godgytha in the British Museum.

**The works asterisked have been added to the library by donation, exchange, or purchase. The other publications noticed are restricted to contributions to periodicals and composite works, and exclude (in addition to this Journal) Coins and Medals, Spink's Numismatic Circular, Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin, and the Token Corresponding Society Bulletin. Separately published books which have not been received by the Society are not included.*

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1977

ALL meetings were held at the Warburg Institute, with the President, Mr. Woodhead, in the chair.

On 25 January Mr. Malcolm Rush was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. G. P. Dyer read a paper entitled 'Thomas Humphrey Paget'.

At an Extraordinary Meeting on 22 February a resolution was put to members to change certain of the rules of the Society to enable the annual subscription to be fixed at the Anniversary Meeting. The resolution was approved by a majority of more than 80 per cent of the votes, as required by our rules.

On 22 February Mr. Gerard Brady, Mr. William N. Clarke, Mr. Charles Howard Johnson, and Mrs. Jane Kenworthy were elected to Ordinary Membership. Dr. J. P. C. Kent read a paper entitled 'New Evidence for the Dating of Gallo-Belgic Coins and their British Derivatives'.

On 22 March Mr. Brian Reeds, Mr. M. J. Dickinson, Dr. David Dumville, Mr. A. George Mallis, and Miss Fionna A. R. McGregor were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Pagan read a paper entitled 'Sir Isaac at the Mint', and Professor I. D. Brown read a paper entitled 'Statistical Analysis of Die Identities'.

On 26 April seven short papers were read on the coinages of the Plantagenet kings. Mr. Berry read a paper on the sterling counters of Edward I and II; Mr. Davis read a paper on the Long Cross coins of Henry III, class II; Mr. North read a paper on some Long Cross imitations; Mr. Wood read a paper on classes I, II, and III of the Berwick pennies of Edward I; Mr. Woodhead read a paper entitled '1A or not 1A, that is the question'; Mr. Merson read a paper on two groats of Edward III with altered dies; and Mrs. Delmé-Radcliffe read a paper entitled 'Oddities and Rarities'.

On 24 May Mr. A. J. Arnot and Mr. Jackson Storm were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Rigold read a paper entitled 'The Antic Shape of Kings and Kesar's, Strange and Rare'.

On 28 June Mr. G. W. De Witt, Mr. Brian D. Hurrell, Mr. Kenneth R. Murray, and Mr. Paul Withers were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Antony John Davis was elected to Junior Membership. Professor Michael Dolley read a paper on die-cutting centres under Æthelred II.

On 27 September the President announced the

death of our Vice-President, Mr. Edgar Winstanley, and asked members to rise as a tribute to him. The death of Mr. Pratley was also announced. Mr. Julius Lashley-Vallet, Dr. David Durnford-Slater, and Mr. Martyn Roy Treadgold were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Peter Seaby read a paper on the anomalous 'York group' coins of Stephen.

On 25 October Council's proposals for Officers and Council for 1977-8 were read out, together with their proposals for subscription rates for 1978. Mr. D. Field was elected to Ordinary Membership, and Mr. T. C. Millett was elected to Junior Membership. Mr. C. S. S. Lyon read a paper entitled 'Some Thoughts on the Coinage of Edward the Elder'.

At the Anniversary Meeting on 22 November Mr. R. C. Bell was elected to Ordinary Membership. The following Officers and Council were elected for 1978.

President: P. Woodhead, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.; G. V. Doubleday; C. S. S. Lyon, M.A., F.S.A., F.I.A.; S. E. Rigold, M.A., F.S.A.; H. Schneider.

Director: J. Brand.

Treasurer: R. J. Seaman, F.I.B.

Secretary: W. Slayter.

Librarian: R. H. Thompson, A.L.A.

Council: Miss M. M. Archibald, M.A., F.S.A.; M. A. S. Blackburn, B.A.; R. Davis; Mrs. M. Delmé-Radcliffe; Professor M. Dolley, B.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.; G. P. Dyer, B.Sc.; A. J. H. Gunstone, B.A., F.S.A.; N. J. Mayhew, M.A.; R. A. Merson; Mrs. J. E. L. Murray, M.B.E., M.A.; Miss E. J. E. Pirie, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.; J. G. Scott, B.Sc., M.C.I.T.; B. H. I. H. Stewart, R.D., M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., M.P.; C. J. Wood.

The proposals of Council for an annual subscription of £12 for Ordinary Members, and £5 for Junior Members were approved. The Sanford Saltus Medal was awarded to Mr. S. E. Rigold.

Mr. Woodhead delivered his Presidential Address.

EXHIBITIONS

January

By Mrs. Murray.

A Scottish merk, of Charles II, 1675. The peculiar interest of this coin is that the obverse die was made with a broken head puncheon which is preserved in the NMAS (the only one of this coinage). Hocking's article shows the puncheon, cast in Fig. 2, no. 4, and actual puncheon in Fig. 4, no. 2.

For this coinage, matrices had been made from Simon's puncheon. The royal warrant for the change of design was entered in the records of the Privy Council of Scotland on 11 February 1675, and instructions to the mint official were entered on 25 February.

By Mr. Rigold.

A sceatta from Rochester, excavated 1976.

Obv. 'London connected type', Head r. with floral ornament to r.

Rev. Southampton type (Celtic cross of 5 circles).

By Mr. Merson. Two medals.

1. By Paget, 1928, *rev.* the same as that of a pattern crown.

2. Possibly by P. Metcalfe, bar 1930, P.M. below bust.

Apparently given to schoolchildren by an extreme right-wing organization, the British Empire Union, and the cause of questions in the Commons as to the activities of the Royal Mint.

February

By Major Lister.

Gold, silver, and potin Ancient British Coins, to illustrate the paper by Dr. Kent.

April

By Mr. Woodhead.

1. Short Cross penny Ib/Ia Mule? with altered mint reading.

2. Ib penny. For comparison with 1.

3. Ib/Ia mule?

By Mr. Merson, in illustration of his paper.

Two Edward III groats with altered dies

1. York, Pre-Treaty Class E CIVITAS CIVI... Amended to CIVITAS EBO

2. London Pre-Treaty Class E

Rev. +POSVI over +EDW

Obv. +E over some uncertain letter.

By Mr. R. L. Davis.

Five Class II coins of the Long Cross coinage 1247-78, and two Continental contemporary imitations with the same reverse die. See this volume, pp. 138-41.

May

By Mr. E. D. Burt.

A Coronation Medallion of Anna of Russia, 1730-1740. (Bronze 62 mm.) Found in 1976 by Robert Prouse beneath original flooring of his house, built in 1815, at Bideford, Devon.

September

By Mr. Frank Purvey.

A Henry I penny, *BMC* type XII. Bristol, wt. 21 gr. Found in a lay-by on the A37 near Babcarry (Ilchester) Somerset, taken to Bristol Museum, and declared a forgery.

November

By Mr. Rigold, on behalf of A. D. Saunders.

A penny of Henry I, double-inscription type, *BMC* type XI (repaired). From excavations at Launceston Castle, 1977.

Moneyer Aldwine, mint probably Shaftesbury, but possibly Salisbury. Not a die-duplicate of the Aldwine of Shaftesbury in the Llantrithyd hoard.

On behalf of York Minster Archaeological Office.

Numismatic contents of a well, rapidly filled in, in the present aisled nave of the Minster, but outside the earlier aisleless nave.

Two worn and late sterling jettons and two billon Double Tournois of Philip VI, 1349. Also one early(?) Moors head French jetton pierced for English use.

By Mr. Slayter.

A volume from the library of our Founder Member, Mr. Samuel Hamer, containing five separate editions of the prospectus that we issued on our foundation in 1903, the original book of rules of the Society, and the rules governing the award of the Sanford Saltus Medal.

Also the private token issued by Hamer, which is illustrated on his book-plate.

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

1977

RECENT years have seen the growth of the practice of dividing the President's address into two parts; the first being a review of the progress of the Society in the past year and the second a short discourse by the President on an appropriate subject of his own choice. This is the pattern that I shall follow on this occasion, the 74th Anniversary Meeting of our Society.

REVIEW OF THE YEAR

Once again our membership shows a small increase. The total is now 535. Of this number, 524 are ordinary members and 11 are junior members. The total of ordinary members is made up of 388 private individuals and 136 institutions.

New members elected in the year total 23 of which number 21 are ordinary members and 2 are junior members.

Our losses are 22, consisting of 13 resignations, 8 amovals, and 2 deaths. The resignations include a few members who have paid subscriptions for the current year and who have resigned with effect from 1st January 1978 as they do not feel able to pay the Society's proposed subscription increase for next year.

The two deaths that I have to report are those of Mr. E. J. Winstanley and Mr. L. J. Pratley.

Mr. Edgar Winstanley, a dental surgeon by profession, was elected a member in February 1939. He became a member of Council in November of that same year. During the war he served variously as Director, Librarian, and Secretary, at one stage apparently holding all three offices simultaneously and at the same time being the Editor—a reflection no doubt of the fact that whereas he was too old for active service, a large number of other members were not. After the war, he continued as Secretary until 1950 in which year he was elected President—an office he filled with distinction until November 1954.

Upon giving up the Presidency he was elected a Vice-President which office he held until his death. In 1976 he was made an honorary member.

Undoubtedly Edgar Winstanley's major numismatic work was his 'Coinage of Henry VII' which was published in Volumes 30, 31, and 32 of *BNJ* and which stands as the authoritative work on the series. He was awarded the Sanford Saltus Gold Medal in 1968 for this paper. His collection of coins of Henry VII amounting to 583 gold and silver pieces systematically complete for the reign was acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford on very favourable terms as a result of an act of outstanding generosity by Mr. Winstanley and Mr. Herbert Schneider.

Mr. Winstanley was 87 when he died, a distinguished numismatist whose works are a fitting monument to his memory.

Mr. L. J. Pratley, who also died during the year, had been a member since 1967.

Our meetings during the year have been enriched by a particularly interesting and enjoyable series of talks and on behalf of you all I should once again like to thank those who contributed. We also owe our thanks to our Director for arranging such a successful and well balanced programme.

At the time of our last Anniversary Meeting, the 1973 *Journal* was about to be published and I told you that good progress was being made generally in catching up with our arrears of *Journals*. Members have since then received three *Journals*, that for 1973 and those for 1974 and 1975. The 1976 *Journal* is in the press and we anticipate that it will be in the hands of members before the end of the year. This is very nearly as up to date as we can hope to get and we anticipate that the 1977 *Journal* will be published late in 1978.

Our Treasurer has already commented this evening on the Society's financial position as set out in the accounts for the year 1976. I wrote to members in October outlining our financial problems and indicating

the action that Council proposed to take in asking members to approve an increase in subscription to £12.00 for Ordinary members and to £5.00 for Junior members and asking for donations to help reconstruct our reserves. With hindsight one can see that our difficulties have really arisen from four things: First, a high rate of inflation averaging 20% per annum over the past four years. Secondly, no change in the subscription rate since 1 January 1974. Thirdly, delays in producing *Journals* which, on the one hand, caused us to accumulate a large cash holding of unspent subscriptions and, on the other, prevented us from knowing just how rapidly *Journal* costs were increasing, thus causing the true deteriorating position to be masked. Fourthly, overspending on the 1973 *Journal* which was really a consequence of factors already mentioned and which we consciously allowed to happen to avoid further delays and costs.

We were, as Mr. Seaman has pointed out in his comments on the accounts, half a *Journal* behind in our provisions, an undesirable situation that had nevertheless been tolerated for some years. When we started to catch up further with delayed *Journal* production we found that increased costs consumed another half *Journal* worth of provisions as well as substantial donations made by the Coin Trade last year and early in this year.

Although we were already aware of the essentials of this position by late last year—and indeed I referred to them in my last Presidential Address—the rules of the Society at the time made it impossible to increase subscriptions for the year commencing 1977 because of the long notice requirements.

At an Extraordinary General Meeting early this year Council's proposals for a change in the Rules concerning increases in subscriptions were adopted thus making it possible in this current year for previous years' accounts to be available before deciding what subscription increase to recommend. The last subscription increase, with effect from 1 January 1974, was to £6.00 for ordinary members. The cost of printing has kept generally in line with the national rate of inflation which over the past four years averages out at around 20% per annum—and that is a rate which slightly more than doubles costs every four years. So in real terms we are not asking members to pay more than was asked for four years ago.

Our subscription income should be set at a level that will cover the cost of production and distribution of the *Journal* for the year to which the subscriptions relate, plus a small amount in hand for incidentals, plus a modest contribution to the reserves. As far as we can judge at present the subscription proposed for 1978 will do this even though the 1978 *Journal* cannot be produced until 1979. To a considerable extent this is possible because our editors, in collaboration with the Oxford University Press, have been able to find economies in production which will be introduced in *Journals* following on the one that is about to be published, i.e. that for 1976. These include printing by off-set lithography and the use of half-tone plates which together make a very significant economy and which, by the use of modern equipment and techniques, allow an acceptably high level of quality to be maintained.

The purpose of the reserves is above all to ensure that the Society can at all times meet its obligations in full. They can also help smooth out differences between one year and another and, of course, provide a buffer to help us to cope with unforeseen circumstances. Reserves can also be invested to produce an income which helps to reduce subscription requirements. If for any reason the reserves become depleted to a level below that at which they would enable the Society to meet all its obligations, as has in fact happened, then they must be restored as quickly as possible. To do this from current and future subscriptions would have been a slow business unless subscriptions had been set at an excessively high level—and even if members would have accepted this it would have rather unfairly placed the burden on future subscribers for benefits received by members in the past.

I, therefore, decided to appeal for donations so that those who had, in effect, received their past *Journals* at a cost to them of less than the cost to the Society and who, over the years, had benefitted from appreciation in the value of coins, in part as a result of work published in the *Journal*, could respond. The reaction so far is most encouraging. The Society has already received substantial donations in cash or coins and more is still coming in. Perhaps I may take this opportunity of thanking members who have already contributed for what they have given and asking those who have not yet got round to it to send their donation in as soon as possible. Remember, it is *your* Society and the stronger our financial position the more scope we have to serve our members and the interests of British Numismatics. Messrs. Glendining are kindly offering to include all coins and books which have been donated in a sale to be held during 1978 and I should like to have all items for inclusion in the sale by spring next year.

Now, of course, an appeal of this sort cannot be repeated. I have no doubt whatever that we shall succeed in restoring the Society to a sound financial base but we must make sure that it stays there. The only way we can do this is by making sure that our future subscription income meets our requirements and we must

accept that as long as we have to endure high rates of inflation annual increases will probably be unavoidable. Of course, we shall try to contain these, or to avoid them altogether, but what we must not do is to use our reserves to make up shortfalls in income.

I can certainly say that I am personally confident that the steps that the Society has now taken are the correct ones to place us on a sound financial footing and that I firmly believe that with the continued and loyal support of our members we can look to the future with confidence.

Before I leave the subject of finance I should like to add that your Council is considering ways of reducing the impact of the new level of subscription on members of long standing (20 years or more) who are retired and who live on fixed incomes, and it is hoped that something can be done without causing any material reduction in the Society's income.

Our Library continues to play its very important part in our Society's affairs. I use the word important here because I think that many members will be surprised at the degree to which the Society is in communication not only with our own members but with other learned bodies, and with members of the general public. Much of this contact passes through the Librarian, Mr. Robert Thompson and his helpers. As is his custom, Mr. Thompson has provided me with a report of the year's activities.

From this we learn that loans of books have totalled 414, an increase of 71 over last year. In the library itself Mr. Thompson has been assisted by Mr. Blackburn and Mr. Merson in shelving books, in boxing periodicals, and in answering very numerous inquiries from non-members. These last are often of a mundane nature but as one of the learned societies of Great Britain we cannot leave them unanswered. The Librarian also makes sure that the necessary entries and returns are submitted for directories and indexes. In the past year these have included an entry in the *Libraries, Museums, and Art Galleries Yearbook*, the listing of the contents of volumes 44 and 45 of the *Journal for the British Humanities Index*, and returns have been made to various publishers on the subjects on which publication notices are required.

Library acquisitions have included the *Archaeological Bibliography for Great Britain and Ireland 1974; Historical Studies VII 1969*, which includes a contribution by Professor Dolley; and Fitzwilliam Reports for 1967. We have renewed our exchange agreement with the Hague for the amalgamated title, *De Beeldenaar* and we have initiated an exchange with Lodz for the *Polish Numismatic Bulletin* which has included a series of articles on English coinage by Andrzej Mikolajczyk. Donations to the library have included: Kopicki's Polish catalogue volume II (1506-1632); two offprints from *Archaeologica Lundensia*, from Jørgen Steen Jensen; *Ancient British, Anglo Saxon, and Norman Coins in West Country Museums*, by Mr. Gunstone; *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the National Museum of Wales*, by Mr. Dykes; Mr. Blunt's Address on the occasion of the opening of the Usher Coin Gallery, Lincoln; *Edwardian Monetary Affairs (1279-1344)*; a symposium held in Oxford, August 1976, edited by Mr. Mayhew (British Archaeological Reports, 36); *A little known contribution to Hiberno-Norse numismatics of Otto Alcenius*, by Messrs. Dolley and Talvio; *Winchester in the early Middle Ages*, an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday edited by Martin Biddle (Winchester Studies, 1). 'Sunderland Local Coinage', from Mr. Hunter; *The Pobjoy Encyclopaedia of Isle of Man coins and tokens*, by James H. Mackay; and, finally, from Messrs. G. Bell & Sons, *British Coin Designs and Designers* by Mr. Linecar.

Apart from the foregoing volumes which have been received in the Library, a number of other significant works on numismatics have been published in the year but have not yet found their way on to our shelves. Professor Grierson has published his Creighton lecture for 1970, 'The Origins of Money' (Athlone Press); Mr. Oddy has edited for the Historical Metallurgy Society the proceedings of a symposium at the British Museum earlier this year on Aspects of Early Metallurgy; Messrs. John Drury have reprinted the numismatic bibliographies of Lipsins and Leitzmann which together provide a comprehensive listing of publications up to 1866. The catalogue of the exhibition at the British Museum, *Wealth of the Roman World A.D. 300-700*, includes Dr. Kent on Coinage and Currency; the Methuen publication *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, edited by D. M. Wilson includes Professor Dolley on 'The Coins'. The Catholic University of Louvain has begun a series of numismatic publications with No. 1 *Le Denier Carolingien*, by Hubert Frère and No. 2 *Les Monnaies Luxembourgeoises*, by Raymond Weiler.

Finally, there are two publications whose appearance is imminent if in fact they are not already out: the late Derek Allen's *Introduction to Celtic Coins* from British Museum Publications and Alfred P. Smyth's *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*, from the Oxford University Press.

An interesting group of hoards have been discovered in the past 12 months. I am indebted to Miss Archibald for providing me with the following list which is in chronological order by date of deposit:

1. Ringwood, Hampshire. This was found late in 1976 and was mentioned in my report last year.

- However, the contents of this important hoard are more extensive than was thought at the time. Contents are 119 'B' type staters. Deposit date c. 50 B.C.
2. Waltham St. Laurence, Berkshire. 202 gold and silver, ancient British and Roman. Deposit date 1st to 2nd century A.D.
 3. Loundthorpe, Lincolnshire. 420 silver denarii from Mark Anthony to Antoninus Pius. Deposit date c. A.D. 154
 4. Langford, Bedfordshire. 25 bronze from Claudius to Antoninus Pius. Deposit date c. A.D. 155
 5. Lincoln. 16 silver from Vespasian to Antoninus Pius. Deposit date c. A.D. 160
 6. Felixstowe, Suffolk. 9 bronze from Marcus Aurelius to Commodus. Deposit date c. A.D. 200
 7. Chorley Wood, Hertfordshire. About 4300 bronze from Constantine I to Constantius II. Deposit date c. A.D. 350
 8. Balleyelse, Isle of Man. 5 silver of Edward I. Deposit date c. 1300.
 9. West Whelpington, Northumberland. 5 silver of Edward I and II. Deposit date c. 1310.
 10. Nuneaton, Warwickshire. 227 silver from Elizabeth I to Charles I. Deposit date 1645
 11. Albridge, Essex. 365 silver from Philip and Mary to the Commonwealth. Deposit date 1656.
 12. Winchester, Hampshire. 97 gold George III and George IV. Deposit date 1822.
 13. Birdbrook, Essex. 99 gold from George IV to Victoria. Deposit date 1845.
 14. Nelson, Lancashire. 44 gold of Victoria. Deposit date 1853.

Last but not least, I should like to complete this first part of my address by acknowledging the help and support that I received during the year from the officers, and other members of Council and in particular to thank those who have been willing to attend the extra meetings of the Council and the Editorial Committee. The difficult decisions that we had to take during the year have been made much easier by the constructive and harmonious way in which we have worked.

As will be appreciated from the first part of my address the past year has involved your Council and myself in an extensive review of the financial and publishing activities of the Society. This, together with the increased communication between myself and a wide range of individual members resulting from my appeal for donations, has led me to give considerable thought to the Society's functions. I feel therefore that it would be appropriate on this occasion to use this part of my address to consider how well we are achieving our declared objects and to discuss, at least in a preliminary and tentative way how we might improve and how we could be trying to develop ourselves in the future.

The declared objects of our Society are necessarily expressed in very broad terms. As set forth in our Rule Book they begin: 'the Society is established for the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science and particularly for the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America. . . .'. They go on to say that 'The Society's chief publication shall be called the *British Numismatic Journal*', and they make provision for the appointment of Editors and the operation of an Editorial Committee of Council to accept or reject manuscripts submitted for publication. Particular responsibility rests with the Editors to promote the objects of the Society and to ensure that our journal upholds the position and importance of the Society.

From the day of our formation the quality of our membership and the exercise of the responsibilities by successive Councils and Editors have ensured that we can call ourselves without pretence a learned Society and the *British Numismatic Journal* has built up a reputation for scholarship that extends far outside the purely numismatic world.

That these standards must be maintained and whenever possible enhanced cannot be in question. They represent the core and essence of our existence as a Society and the *Journal*, by providing a reputable vehicle for the publication of scholarly work, ensures that the Society has the support of individuals and institutions of the highest academic standing.

But our Society exists for the benefit of all its members and I think that we must always be prepared to ask ourselves if we are achieving our objects in every respect. With such broad objectives as are set out in the Rules we really have to ask ourselves what 'encouragement and promotion' are called for and can usefully be provided by the Society in the conditions that prevail at any given time. Certainly conditions have altered considerably since our illustrious founders defined our objectives in 1903. I discussed some of these changes in my Presidential Address last year but it is perhaps worth repeating the conclusions here: the world of numismatics has become broader, there are many more professional academic numismatists, there are more public institutions interested in numismatics and public collections have become more extensive,

better documented, and thus more accessible. Numbers of amateur students of numismatics have increased too and they continue to produce work which stands as high as that produced by professionals even though pressures of time and economics often lead to a more specialized approach. Certainly the large widely based private collection is increasingly a thing of the past and amateur and professional alike depend more and more on public collections and public libraries. While the giants of seventy-four years ago produced work of enduring value, we have all, I think, benefitted from advances in scientific method and have become more systematic and self-critical in our work. These are some of the changes we must bear in mind in assessing our role today.

It is inevitable that the *Journal*, now as in 1903, is the major preoccupation and not only for the editorial content. Just as important is the fact that it accounts for the greater part of the Society's expenditure and thus directly determines our financial health. It follows, of course, that the *Journal* also influences the level of membership through the level of subscriptions and also affects our ability to spend money on other activities which may benefit our objects. In practice, since we have always tried to keep the subscription as low as possible and since the subscription is primarily influenced by the cost of printing and distributing the *Journal*, there is hardly ever any money to spare for other activities. In fairness, however, it must also be admitted that there has so far been comparatively little pressure on the Society to find funds for other activities.

Apart from the *Journal* what else do we do to encourage and promote numismatic science?

We have nine ordinary meetings each year at which members are able to present the fruits of their research and to discuss their findings with other workers in their field. We have additional meetings where we support and co-operate in joint activities with other societies. Through the generosity of a present member we have a research fund and through the generosity of a late member we are able to offer a gold medal every three years for meritorious papers published in the *Journal*. We stimulate social contact amongst our members by holding an annual Council's Sherry Party and, occasionally, other social events. And finally, but by no means least we have our library which provides both a reference and lending service. I should perhaps add that the Society responds to a very substantial correspondence each year both from members and from external sources. Much of this is dealt with by the Secretary and the Librarian but all officers and many members of Council assist and this should not be underestimated when the Society's activities are assessed.

So far so good. Yet is it enough? Undoubtedly more can be done if we have the will to do it. The Society draws much strength from the loyalty of its members (as the response to my appeal for donations has shown) but it would be wrong to base our future on this alone. Our real strength in the future must depend on the benefit that those individuals who are interested in and concerned with British numismatics can see themselves obtaining as a result of their membership. Of course, the more people who feel that membership of the *BNS* is not only an honour but also an advantage really worth having, the more able will the *BNS* be to serve British Numismatics.

We are not, of course, simply looking for things to do: we have, after all, plenty already. What I seek are ways of serving our members and of increasing the value to them of their membership.

Various possibilities exist. Broadly speaking they can be grouped into:

1. Activities primarily of an organizational or scholarly nature aimed at directly benefitting existing members.
2. Activities primarily of a promotional character intended to make more people aware of the Society and what it can do, thus encouraging our membership to increase.
3. Activities of a money making character designed to strengthen the finances of the Society and to obtain for existing members better value for their subscriptions.

Many activities can, of course, relate to more than one group and in undertaking anything new we have to think not only of 'what' but also of 'how', for in an organization such as ours, entirely dependent as it is on unpaid voluntary service anything new that we want to do will almost certainly depend on someone being willing to do it in their spare time.

The first category of activities, those of an organizational or scholarly character, might include things where the Society, acting perhaps through a committee of Council would collate, edit, co-ordinate, or publish.

One example, a suggestion that was made to me a year or two ago by another member would be for the Society to undertake responsibility for a Bibliography of British Numismatics. Those of us who attempt to produce reports or studies for publication are all too conscious of the growing volume of record that needs to be consulted, the problems of finding references and the increasing risk of inadvertently overlooking

some significant publication. Existing bibliographies cover broader fields or, alternatively, are too select. Who, after all, is better qualified to produce a bibliography of British Numismatics than the British Numismatics Society by drawing on the specialist knowledge of its individual members.

Another suggestion arises from the fact that of our, approximately, five hundred members, a majority never or only rarely attend our meetings, use our library, or contribute to our *Journal*. That there are good reasons for this I do not question but it does mean that there are a lot of members who have no current contact with the Society's affairs because, inevitably, the information on these in the *Journal* is out of date when it is published.

Of course, those who regularly attend our meetings hear matters of current interest announced from the chair and a good deal of background information is circulated by word of mouth. But for other members I have come to realize that we have a communications problem which, I would go so far as to say is harmful to the Society.

Many other Societies overcome this problem by circulating a periodical informal bulletin or news-letter and it is my hope that we might be able to do something along these lines perhaps on an annual or twice yearly basis. We shall first, however, have to see how our financial position improves before I can ask Council to approve funds for extra postage costs. In the meantime, if nothing else, I hope to introduce the practice of sending out myself a short letter in the same mailing as that used either for the voting papers or the programme card.

A further suggestion might be that the Society should give guidance on the presentation of numismatic reports and the results of numismatic research. The aim would be to upgrade the quality of material presented not only in the *Journal* but elsewhere and to encourage standardization where that is desirable. We are, as our Founders realized, engaged in a scientific pursuit and if the greatest value is to be derived from work done, data, reasoning, and conclusions should be presented in a logical and disciplined manner. Much can be done with the correct use of tables and illustrations and conciseness is desirable from every point of view (quite apart from the literary merit of a concise presentation, a page of *BNJ* now costs £25.30 to print and distribute).

No one, I am sure, would wish to inhibit authors from using those individual turns of phrase which enrich their prose or from publishing illuminating but speculative discussions that, when built on soundly based conclusions, can suggest lines for future study. But there could be a value to new members or to members who have not published before in a paper which might be entitled 'Guide lines for the presentation of numismatic research' and this is an area where perhaps our professional academic members could be of great assistance to the Society.

The second group, activities primarily of a promotional character, can be carried out by every single member of the Society by telling other people of its activities and advantages. The Society itself can give thought to ways in which it can present itself to the world at large. Our Secretary, Mr. Slayter, has tonight exhibited some of the prospectuses prepared at the time of the Society's formation and I should like to see an updated version in every museum and library in this country. I shall be discussing this with Council during the coming year.

The third category of activities, primarily of a money-making character, needs to be pursued more actively than in the past. Again every UK member can help by entering into a covenant for his or her subscription, thus allowing the Society to recover the related tax. There are other possibilities, too, for example, sale of copyright for reprint purposes, and sale of advertising space in the *Journal* and it will be for Council to consider what action can be taken on these.

Undoubtedly many other possibilities exist, particularly in the first category. For example, whether we should take a lead in organizing symposia on specialist subjects, or in preparing an updated text for Thompson's *Inventory of Coin Hoards found in the British Isles*, or in maintaining an index of current numismatic research. All those and, no doubt, others should be considered so far as we are able, for we must be alive and responsive to present day needs.

Our Society now exists in a more difficult economic climate than it has known for twenty years or more. We have, I believe, succeeded in getting our *Journal* production programme and our financial planning right. I am confident that we can survive these difficult times; but to do so and to come out of it well means that we must be active, enterprising and not afraid to innovate.

I hope that during the coming year, our seventy-fifth, we shall be able to explore means of improving our Society and I feel sure that I shall be able to rely not only on your support but, when the need arises, your active assistance, too.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at 31 October, 1976

	£	£		£	£
1975			1975		
19 Subscriptions Received in Advance		142.23	Investments at cost		
207 Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges		286.20	£900 8½% British Savings Bonds	900.00	
J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund			£2,025 City of Cambridge Stock	2,025.00	
200 Capital Account		200.00			2,925.00
Schneider Research Fund	250.00		J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund		
Less Photographic Record of Doubleday			200 £200 8½% British Savings Bonds		200.00
Collection not recovered by sales	83.00		Schneider Research Fund		
167 Journal Provisions		167.00	167 Cash at Bank		167.00
1975 (balance of cost)	5,287.59		150 Library at cost, less amounts written off		150.00
1974 (balance of cost)	3,327.83		10 Furniture at cost		10.00
1975 (provision towards cost)	3,068.29		441 Debtors—Tax Repayment		464.58
8,210		11,683.71	Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
			529 Bank—Current Account	765.37	
			4,377 „ —Deposit Account	7,796.04	
			4 In hand	1.15	
					8,562.56
£8,803		£12,479.14	£8,803		£12,479.14

Report of the Auditors to the Members of the British Numismatic Society

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purpose of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of those books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at the 31 October, 1976 and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the income and expenditure for the year ended on that date.

Astral House, 125/129, Middlesex Street, Bishopsgate, London, E1 7JF.
13 September 1977

FUTCHER HEAD & GILBERTS
Chartered Accountants

Expenditure and Income Account for the year ended 31 October 1976

1975	EXPENDITURE	£	£	1975	INCOME	£
83	Printing, Postage, and Stationery		152-59	2,421	Subscriptions received for 1976	2,675-55
	Expenses of Meetings, Rent and Library				Subscriptions in arrear received during the	
25	facilities		38-27	192	year	426-86
209	Sundry Expenses		266-44	441	Income Tax Repayable	141-57
81	Sanford Saltus Medal		—	18	Entrance Fees	24-74
	<i>Journal Expenses:</i>			46	Donations	410-31
	1973 <i>Journal</i>			451	Interest received	477-29
	Cost	5,695-86			Sale of Publications:	
	Less Previous Provision	5,000-00		139	Back Numbers	182-75
		—	695-86		Amount transferred from the General	
	1974 <i>Journal</i>			1,000	Purposes Fund	—
	Cost	3,327-83				
	Less Previous Provision	3,000-00				
		—	327-83			
	1975 <i>Journal</i>					
	Provision towards cost	3,068-29				
	Less Previous Provision	210-21				
		—	2,858-08			
4,310		—	3,881-77			
£4,708			£4,339-07	£4,708		£4,339-07

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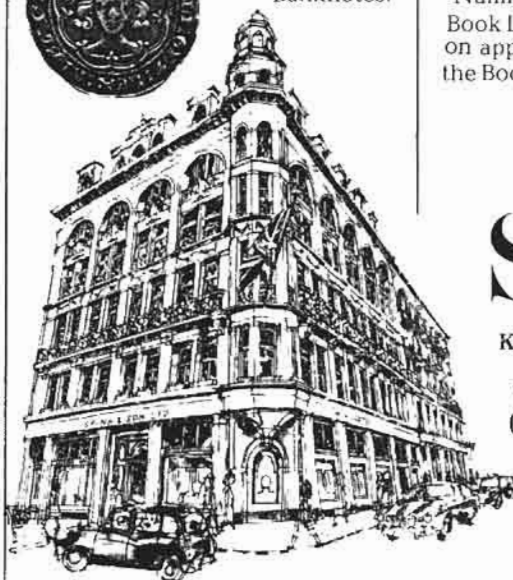
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